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The Political Use of the Spanish Language in Elizabethan England: 1580-1596

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The Political Use of the Spanish Language in Elizabethan England: 1580-1596

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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King's College London

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Abstract

My doctoral research demonstrates the co-dependency of Anglo-Spanish literary and political cultures and their effect on Elizabethan nation-building at the end of the sixteenth century. The fraught political situation between England and Spain endowed the Spanish language with significant power, increasing its importance at court and its prominence as a literary model. By scrutinizing the relationship with Spain posited by sixteenth century authors, scholars, and patrons, I suggest that English identity developed in relief against the idea of Spain and Spaniards. Individual chapters consider the work of Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), Abraham Fraunce (1559?-1592/3?), Gabriel Harvey (1552/3-1631), the Earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588), and the Earl of Essex (1565-1601) and the impact of events including the attack of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the 1596 invasion of Cadiz. The first half of my dissertation examines how two scholars imagined the political potential of their rhetoric. I use Fraunce's *Arcadian rhetorike* (1588) to demonstrate that the Armada prompted English interest in the potential patriotism of the vernacular and conclude that the rhetorical guide responds to the threat of Spain by considering the poet's role commemorating heroes. Harvey applied his logical studies of classical and contemporary poetic and martial theories to the crisis in Elizabethan foreign policy and so counterintuitively characterized his rhetorical achievements as preparation for a diplomatic career. The second half of my dissertation examines how prominent courtiers promoted themselves as mediators of Elizabeth's foreign policy and considers how contemporary literary works contributed to this type of fashioning. A patron of lexicons and language learning manuals, the Earl of Leicester facilitated the production of Antonio del Corro's *Reglas Gramaticales* (1586), and so initiated a trend in which language guides imagined possible relationships between England and Spain. Propaganda produced by various authors depicts Essex as a protector and leader of Englishmen by invoking or fabricating Spanish witnesses to the beneficence of the Earl and the cruelty of Philip. Although each of the authors, scholars, and patrons considered in this project had different and constantly changing sentiments regarding Spain, they are unified by the importance they place on the Spanish language as a tool with which to understand, and at times imagine, English foreign policy. How did Elizabethans' invocation of the Spanish language shape the English understanding of Spain? How did exposure to the Spanish vernacular affect English poetic and rhetorical expression? Ultimately, how did these authors, patrons, and scholars reflect upon Elizabeth's war with England's greatest rival? These are some of the questions my dissertation seeks to address.

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Note on Texts

In this thesis I use original editions. I retain original spelling and punctuation when quoting from 16th and 17th century sources, both in the body of the text, in the footnotes and in the bibliography. However, I silently replace the long ‘s’, j/i, w/uu, w/vv, u/v, v/u, th/y, ð/on and ñ/nn in English. In the body of the thesis, I use abbreviated versions of the full titles but retain the original spelling. For modern editions and secondary sources, I use the title capitalisation according to the Modern Humanities Research Association guidelines where possible. For early modern editions I provide titles and dates of publications as listed in the Short Title Catalogue. Individuals’ biographical dates are given when they are known and relevant to the chapter. These dates are based on information given in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* where possible. Spelling of proper nouns in the body of the text also conforms to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, although authors of early modern texts are given in footnotes following the ESTC.

Introduction:

‘English before any Vulgare language’¹

The Anglo-Spanish conflict that characterised the latter half of Elizabeth’s (1533-1603) reign prompted early modern English reflections on the political implications of vernacular language and its role in national identity formation. This thesis studies the evocation of the Spanish vernacular by English authors, scholars, diplomats and courtiers as they reacted to the galvanising conflict. The English imitated, appropriated and translated the Spanish language, sometimes while simultaneously satirising Spaniards, and so defined themselves through these different forms of comparison. Fear and resentment of the Spanish empire went hand-in-hand with an awareness of Spain’s imperial and cultural success. By 1610, almost a decade after Elizabeth’s death, Ben Jonson’s (1572-1637) *The Alchemist* (1612) voiced the English sense that Spain posed a threat and at the same time explained the reasons for imitation:

Aske from your Courtier, to your Innes of Court-man,
To your mere Millaner; They will tell you all
Your *Spanish* Jennet is the best Horse. Your *Spanish*
Stoupe is the best Garbe. Your *Spanish* Beard
Is the best Cut. Your Spanish Ruffs are the best
Weare. Your *Spanish* [pavanne] the best Daunce.
Your *Spanish* titillation in a Glove
The best Perfume. And, for your *Spanish* Pike,
And *Spanish* Blade, let your poore Captaine speake.²

Jonson’s character ‘Face’ reiterates that the ‘*Spanish*’ way is ‘best’ in a range of fashions, ending with the warning that an English ‘Captaine’ might witness the efficacy of the ‘*Spanish* Pike,/ And *Spanish* Blade’, thus marrying a sense of cultural and military superiority, a perception he implies was shared across society from ‘your Courtier’ to ‘your mere Millaner’. This dissertation will adduce instances when Englishmen act out this dichotomy between imitation and alienation linguistically, as they read, write and quote from Spanish as a way of understanding the threat posed by Spain’s empire. It asks why those whose circumstances or political proclivities placed them in opposition to Spain should turn repeatedly to Spanish as a lens through which to understand and define the conflict that lasted for over two decades.

¹ Philip Sidney, *The defence of poesie* (London: William Ponsonby, 1595), sig. K1r, STC (2nd ed.) 22535.

² Ben Jonson, *The alchemist* (London: Thomas Snodham, for Walter Burre, 1612), sig. I4r, STC (2nd ed.) 14755.

Over the course of this thesis I will ask: how does English use of the Spanish language reflect the hostilities that sporadically broke out between these traditional allies in the second half of Elizabeth's reign? The many writers examined here use Spanish for different purposes and in a variety of different genres, but are united by an awareness of the political implications of the vernacular. Moreover, during the 1580s and 1590s these authors use Spanish literature as a means not only to construct an English identity but more importantly to define their own political roles within the developing Protestant state. In this way a fascination with the Spanish language marries the aspirations of these scholars and courtiers with international politics.

Typical of early modern internationalism, which saw Englishmen compare their vernacular with those originating elsewhere in Europe, Sir Philip Sidney's *The defence of poesie* (1595) ends with an assessment of the capabilities of England's vernacular in comparison to continental idioms:

Truly the English before any Vulgare language, I know is fit for both [rhyming and metrical verse]: for, for the auncient, the *Italian* is so full of Vowels, that it must ever be combed with *Elisions*. The *Dutch* so of the other side with Consonants, that they cannot yeeld the sweete slyding, fit for a Verse. The *French* in his whole language, hath not one word that hath his accent in the last sillable, saving two, called *Antepenultima*; and little more hath the *Spanish*, and therefore verie gracelesly may they use *Dactiles*. The English is subject to none of these defects.³

The passage emphasises the potential of the English language for poetry. It suffers none of the 'defects' that afflict its contemporary counterparts. While much of Sidney's treatise laments that modern languages have not yet achieved the rhetorical heights of the classical world, it also explains that English has the potential to excel in both verse and rhyme while Italian, Dutch, French and Spanish are beset by natural disadvantages. Sidney's analysis of language is a means of imagining a bright future for English and differentiating it from its peers. *The defence* is predominantly concerned with the best forms of poetry and rhetoric, and not explicitly with the vernacular. The term 'English' is invoked only six times in the whole treatise. Yet in at least three of these instances, it is compared to other languages in order to conclude that it 'is subject to none of these defects'. Sidney describes his vernacular in contradistinction to the other prestige languages of Europe in order to make a claim for its cultural primacy in what we might describe anachronistically as a form of linguistic 'nationalism', a term I will consider further below.

³ Sidney, *The defence*, sigs. I4r- K1v.

This thesis observes the ways in which, towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, certain key figures' linguistic proficiency was characterised as a determining factor in their aptitude for governance and might be used to make a claim for various diplomatic roles. The first extant letter received by Sir Philip Sidney (1553-1586) articulates exactly this assumption that multilingualism and a career in foreign policy were inextricable. In this well-known letter Sir Henry Sidney (1529-1586) encourages his son to engage with non-English languages (particularly French and Latin), 'for [they] will stand [him] in most stead in that profession of lyfe that [he was] bourne to live in'.⁴ By 'profession' Sir Henry likely refers to the diplomacy that characterised both his own career and that of his father, Sir William Sidney (c.1482-1554).⁵ Born to a political career, language study is identified as an essential component of the knowledge and skills that will allow Philip to achieve his potential. Taking its cue from Henry Sidney's advice, this dissertation considers how Protestant Elizabethans, who might be expected to oppose Spain, unexpectedly invoke the Spanish language as a means with which to depict both their country and themselves.

This introduction has five parts. To contextualise my inquiry, I begin with a history of Anglo-Spanish relations in the Elizabethan period. This will lead in to an introduction of my chapters, each of which considers a particular figure - Abraham Fraunce (1559?-1592/3?), Gabriel Harvey (1552/3-1631), the Earl of Essex (1565-1601) and the Earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588) - as a case study of how Elizabethans might both depict themselves and be imagined by others. Having outlined what this dissertation will establish about each, the third part of my introduction will consider to what extent these four figures are emblematic of an Elizabethan reaction to Spain and, conversely, how their particular literary responses to the conflict are idiosyncratic and reflective of their respective political or social goals. The idea of England, and its conflict with Spain, is used as a tool with which to understand - and at times shape - these figures' political identities. Thus in the fourth section of this introduction I examine critical perspectives on nationalism, for while this thesis does not demonstrate the existence of any unifying national identity, all the figures whose work I consider in some way reflect an individual and shifting concept of England as a nation. Finally, my introduction considers why Spain and its language became catalysts for depictions of authors, patrons and

⁴ Philip Sidney, *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by Roger Kuin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 4.

⁵ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Sidney, Sir Henry (1529-1586)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25520>> [accessed 14 January 2013].

scholars, as well as England itself. Through recourse to the Anglo-Spanish history provided, this section identifies the political and literary tensions that gave rise to my inquiry.

1. A Developing Conflict

The second half of the sixteenth century saw the reversal of the previously strong alliance between England and Spain. Prior to this rupture, English and Spanish ‘aristocratic, military, clerical, scholastic and merchant classes had been on intimate terms for centuries’.⁶ The Protestant reformation destroyed Christian unity in England and across Europe and so laid the foundations for the political strife that characterised Elizabeth’s reign. Henry VIII’s (1491-1547) divorce from Catherine of Aragon (1484-1536) damaged England’s relationship with the Pope, the Catholic Church, and Spain.⁷ While Mary I’s (1516-1558) marriage to Philip of Spain (1527-1598) promised to improve circumstances, after Elizabeth’s accession in 1558 the situation deteriorated again.⁸ Spain became a refuge for Elizabeth’s opponents and England for Philip’s. The Queen herself became a ‘living symbol of the Protestant [...] nation’ and English self-determination.⁹ Along with the Queen, other ‘English Protestant heroes emerged in the late sixteenth century, many of them associated with the successful defense [sic] against the Spanish Armada’.¹⁰ This dissertation considers how specific events of this Anglo-Spanish conflict, like the Armada and English invasion of Cadiz, were invoked in depictions of specific courtiers, politicians, and poets, as well as England itself, in order to capitalise on – exploit for financial or political gain - this inflammatory historical context.

The emergence of England as an Atlantic power, challenging Spain’s monopolisation of trade and colonies in the Americas, sharpened their rivalry and added to the tension of an already fraught relationship. Barbara Fuchs explains that the idea of empire haunted Anglo-Spanish relations: ‘England was painfully conscious of its own imperial belatedness with respect to Spain’, which spurred authors to forward various modes of English inheritance from

⁶ Eric J. Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 13.

⁷ Carla Rahn Phillips, ‘Libels and Other Weapons: The Written Word as an Adjunct to Naval Warfare’, in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England 1554-1604*, ed. by Anne J. Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 123-35 (p. 123).

⁸ Griffin, p. 8.

⁹ Phillips, p. 124; Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963), p. 96.

¹⁰ Phillips, p. 124.

Greek and Latin.¹¹ The Elizabethan relationship with Spain was never stable. A trade embargo introduced in 1568 was lifted in 1572, inaugurating a period of lucrative economic exchange.¹² Although Philip expelled the English ambassador John Man (1514/15-1569) from his court in the same year as the embargo, Spanish ambassadors remained at the English court until 1584, when Don Bernardino de Mendoza's (1540-1604) role in the Throckmorton plot was revealed.¹³ By 1585 Elizabeth was openly sending troops to the Low Countries to fight against expanding Spanish influence there, leading to the hostilities that contextualise my inquiry. Two moments when tensions were at their height – the summer of 1588 (the lead up to and aftermath of the Spanish Armada's attempted invasion of England) and the attack on Cadiz in the late spring of 1596 (after which the Earl of Essex and his fleet raided the town of Faro, where the plunder included 178 books from the bishop's library) – form the focus of this examination of the interplay between political events and invocations of the Spanish vernacular.

The Spanish Armada sailed in August 1588 under the command of Don Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, Duke of Medina Sidonia (1550-1615) to escort an army from Flanders and invade England, overthrow Elizabeth and restore Catholicism.¹⁴ The campaign against the Armada furthered the careers of several of Elizabeth's most prominent courtiers, some of whom disseminated accounts of the battle in order to push their claims as patriotic heroes. This type of heroic self-fashioning typified the Anglo-Spanish conflict and may have reached its height in representations of the English invasion of Cadiz. English and Dutch troops landed in the Spanish city in 1596 under the command of Essex and Charles Howard, baron of Effingham (1536-1624). The English invasion was launched after reports that Spain was preparing another offensive. It is more likely, however, that it was motivated by Essex's desire to conduct a naval

¹¹ Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 2. Also see: Ivan Hannaford, *Race: the History of an Idea in the West* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 183. Hannaford explains that early modern Elizabethans understood the term 'race' in the sense of 'order and course of kings and bishops stretching back into antiquity'. The idea of 'race' thus justified the Spanish inheritance of empire and contributed to the English need to claim a descent from Rome.

¹² Pauline Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy 1585-1604', *The Historical Journal*, 32 (1989), 281-302 (p. 282).

¹³ Julian Lock, 'Man, John (1514/15-1569)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17915>> [accessed 03 May 2014].

¹⁴ Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 2-10.

campaign against Spain.¹⁵ Participants in the events at Cadiz hurriedly sent accounts of their contributions home in attempts to garner favour at court. Paul E. J. Hammer explains:

Over the ensuing months and years, this welter of competing claims and counter-claims transformed the events at Cadiz into a highly charged issue within late Elizabethan politics. This partisan battle of words and images produced a body of documentation for the Cadiz expedition that is unequalled by the sources surviving for any other Elizabethan naval venture.¹⁶

This thesis considers the ways in which the Spanish language was used to capitalise upon the events of the conflict and the threat posed by the aggressive stance of Spain itself; at the height of English anxiety regarding Spain, I shall show, Fraunce, Harvey, Leicester and Essex each turned to Spanish to reflect upon the threat posed to England and foreground their own critical roles within the conflict.

2. Structure of this Study

The first half of this dissertation explores the efforts of the Cambridge rhetoricians Abraham Fraunce and Gabriel Harvey to define the role of rhetoric, and by extension scholars and poets, in contemporary political life. For Harvey, this may have been intended to qualify him for a role in the retinue of the Earl of Leicester; for Fraunce, exploration of the power of vernacular language coincides with his patrons' sentiments around the growing conflict, as I shall discuss below. The scholars' impulse to consider the role of rhetoric in political discourse is consistent with Renaissance ideas about the function of language. Gavin Alexander explains that Renaissance humanists understood 'intellectual activity as connected to civic activity, [and expected] authors to influence political life and politicians to be scholars'.¹⁷ The final two chapters of this dissertation consider the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Leicester, and how they are depicted in relation to the Anglo-Spanish conflict. Both were heavily invested in Elizabethan partisan politics. As such, the works addressed in my third and fourth chapters are often more overtly concerned with contemporary questions of foreign policy than those considered in the first half of the thesis; they observe the various means through which

¹⁵ Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>> [accessed 26 July 2012].

¹⁶ Paul E.J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 622.

¹⁷ Philip Sidney, *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. by Gavin Alexander (London: Penguin, 2004), p. xxv.

authors capitalised both on the currency of politically powerful dedicatees and the Anglo-Spanish conflict itself.

The Arcadian rhetorike, which appeared in the summer of 1588, is the first of Fraunce's works to carefully incorporate Spanish poetry; most of Fraunce's oeuvre advocates an English poetics based on European models, without drawing on Spanish. The fact that Fraunce's turn towards Spanish coincided with the threat of the Armada prompts my inquiry into his use of the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega (1501-1536) in my first chapter. *The Arcadian rhetorike* is a poetic guide that promoted the use of stylistic devices characteristic of continental vernaculars and classical languages in English. It responds to the Spanish Armada by seeking rhetorical examples in the work of Spain's imperial poet, Garcilaso, and explores the political role of literature in memorialising war. Placing the poetry and prose of Sir Philip Sidney alongside examples of French, Italian, Spanish, Greek and Latin literature, *The Arcadian rhetorike* is not neutral in its internationalism. Printed just two years after England's role in the Netherlands expanded and Fraunce's patron, Sidney, was killed as he fought against Philip II's influence there, the rhetorical guide signals its relevance to the growing English antipathy for Spain from the moment it invokes the name 'Arcadia'. Fraunce's careful excerption and annotation of certain specifically chosen passages from the poetry of Garcilaso explores and exploits the political dimensions of the Spanish language and so considers the role of rhetoric and rhetoricians within England's evolving politics as it sets out guidelines for English poetry. I show that Fraunce used Fernando de Herrera's (1534-1597) nationalist commentary on the *Obras de Garci Lasso de la Vega* (1580) as a guide to Garcilaso's rhetoric. Herrera's edition and commentary brought the political implications of vernacular language and literary memorialisation to the fore. Fraunce's project of compiling and annotating excerpts from Sidney engages in a similar project, albeit one that is far less overt in its patriotism. This chapter will conclude by showing how *The Arcadian rhetorike* forms a part of a series of publications that consider language in terms of the recent threat of the Armada, placing Fraunce's work within its historical and political context.

My second chapter considers Gabriel Harvey, who applied his methodical study of classical and contemporary poetic and martial theories to Elizabethan foreign policy. The threat posed by Spain created military and political opportunities for some of the figures studied in this dissertation and Harvey seems to have hoped this might be the case for him. This chapter examines Harvey's prose, scholarly annotations and quantitative verse to consider

the various ways he used Spanish language texts to understand England's relationship with Spain in order to ready himself for diplomatic service. It observes a parallel between Harvey's anxiety regarding England's place in Europe and his concerns about the poetic development of its vernacular. In the late 1570s, I will show, Harvey saw vernacular language as a powerful tool of cultural colonisation. A letter Harvey sent to Edmund Spenser (1552-1599) argues that vernacular poetry could be used by France, Italy and Spain to establish influence across the globe. Harvey's annotations in two Spanish-language learning manuals, Antonio del Corro's *The Spanish grammar* (1590) and Richard Perceval's (c.1558–1620) *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591) indicate that his study of the Spanish language developed after 1588, perhaps as part of a widespread English interest in Spain after the attempted invasion. For Harvey, poetic and martial theory mirrored each other. He adopts hexameter in his English verse in imitation of Latin, Italian and Spanish forms, simultaneously consulting Julius Sextus Frontinus (c.40-103 AD), Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) and Martín Cortes (1510-1582) to better understand these nations' naval strategies. My study of Harvey concludes by examining his reaction to the trial of the Queen's physician, Roderigo Lopez (c.1517–1594), inscribed in his copy of Georg Meier's *In Iudaeorum medicastorum calumnias & homicidia; pro Christianis pia exhortatio. Ex Theologorum & Iureconsultorum Decretis* (1570). Marshalling his disparate reading to understand the nature of the various threats posed by Spain, Harvey reads and refers to Juan Huarte de San Juan's (1529-1588) *Examen de Ingenios* (1575) to contextualise Lopez's treason and concludes that while Jews make the best doctors, Spaniards (even if Jewish and medically trained) ought not be trusted. This chapter examines how Harvey's academic interest in rhetoric, paired with his desire to establish himself in a diplomatic career, led to three decades of letters, annotations and poetry exploring the various connections between England's security, foreign policy and language and those of Spain. The scholar's writings thus offer case studies of the various ways Englishmen used Spanish to comprehend the conflict and shape their futures in Elizabeth's court.

The Earl of Leicester wielded immense influence over Elizabethan foreign policy. His literary patronage showed a penchant for sponsorship of dictionaries and language guides. My third chapter asks: did these seemingly unrelated aspects of the Earl's career encourage a trend, perhaps inadvertently, for the study and production of Spanish reference books in England? As England's relationship with Spain fluctuated, an unprecedented number of language manuals were produced, apparently to exploit moments of heightened interest. This chapter

argues that these manuals imagine possible relationships between the two nations and represent components of the conflict. A precedent was set when the printing of the first two Anglo-Spanish guides coincided with the marriage of Mary I to Philip of Spain. These works depict possible outcomes of the alliance, from the scholarly or courtly to the martial and mercantile. The two manuals act as an important precursor to the Elizabethan works examined later in this chapter. Given the Earl of Leicester's well documented animosity towards Spain, I ask: why was the first Spanish guide in Elizabethan England produced by a scholar working with his support and dedicated to a member of his retinue? As Leicester developed into a prominent patron of successful lexicons and grammars his secretariat became populated with Spanish-literate scholars. Amongst his clientele were Arthur Atye (d. 1604), Antonio del Corro (1527–1591) and Thomas D'Oyly (c.1548–1603). Together these men capitalised on growing political turmoil and initiated a period of development in Anglo-Spanish lexicography that coincided with a conflict that made Spain more relevant to Englishmen than it had been during the preceding three decades. I will argue that some language manuals capitalise upon the Earl's political reputation and public anxieties regarding the conflict and in so doing attempt to manipulate their readers' perception of both. The guides produced in the 1580s and 1590s reflect both diplomatic realities and the partisan preferences of the courtiers to whom they were dedicated. While Leicester unifies this chapter with his hawkish stance and reputation as a patron of language study, he was not the only early modern English dedicatee of such manuals. Even some of the works dedicated to other courtiers testify to Leicester's legacy as a diplomat and patron of language learning tools. John Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593), dedicated to Robert Dudley (1574–1649), demonstrates an interest in the factors that could drive England towards conflict with Spain. Addressed to Leicester's son and namesake, the work is evidence of the Earl's political and linguistic legacy. By comparing this with earlier language guides produced by members of the Earl's clientele I reveal the extent to which, by the end of his life, Leicester was defined by an association with both lexicography and English foreign policy. Ultimately this chapter shows that the shadow of contemporary politics loomed over early modern English study of Spanish and this is manifest in guides to the language itself. Elizabethan Spanish language manuals thus imagine possible relationships between Englishmen and Spaniards and reflect their patrons' political identities.

The final chapter shows how Elizabethans used the Spanish language to fabricate a fictive access to the Iberian perspective on the war. Essex was part of a large-scale propaganda

effort to portray England as morally and politically different to Spain by producing pamphlets that appeared to have Spanish origins, adding to the momentum behind the conflict and his role as a leader at court. In this last chapter I examine works that depict the Earl as being at the centre of Elizabeth's foreign policy. I ask: how do works dedicated to, produced under the auspices of, or attributed to the Earl of Essex use Spanish to depict his role in Elizabeth's retinue? Richard Perceval's *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, a grammar followed by a dictionary, characterises Essex as the leader of English resistance to Spanish aspirations on the continent, while simultaneously invoking the name of the Earl to establish its dictionary's relevance to the contemporary political environment. Perceval's attribution of much of his dictionary to Spaniards who were present during the battle of the Armada adds to the sense of both the accuracy of his lexicon and his assessment of the conflict. Ascribing Spanish accounts ghost-written by English propagandists to Spaniards endows the claims they make about the conflict with credibility. *The copie of a letter* (1588) and *A packe of Spanish lyes* (1588) capitalise on opposing assumptions about the English reaction to the Spanish vernacular, in order to shape their audiences' understanding of the Armada. *The copie of a letter's* laudatory account of English performance during the battle is made believable through its attribution to a Spaniard (utilising the assumption that the enemy would never exaggerate its rival's victory). *A packe of Spanish lyes* obscures the propagandistic nature of the pamphlet by presenting itself as a correction of sensational Spanish misinformation. Six years later, Antony Bacon (1558-1601) would adopt some of these strategies as he shaped the political future of Essex House. By encouraging a translation of the *Relaciones* (1594) of Antonio Perez, a pamphlet that gave one of Philip II's chief minister's account of the cruelty and duplicity of the Spanish king, Bacon presents Essex as a guardian of all Englishmen against Spain. By 1596 Essex's political reputation was itself invoked as a means of depicting England's trans-European power; *A declaration [...] against the King of Spaines Forces* (1596) presents Essex's military reputation as sufficiently impressive to be used to influence the behaviour of Spanish soldiers. Warning Spain's allies to desist, translations of the tract into Italian, Dutch, French, Latin and Spanish imagine the intimidating power of Essex as they declare that the circulation of the pamphlet will undermine the loyalty of the entire Armada to Spain. Examining a range of sources, this chapter considers how various forms of propaganda are endowed with credibility to better represent the enemy.

Although each of the authors, scholars, and patrons considered in this project had different and constantly changing views regarding Spain, they are unified by the importance

they place on the Spanish language as a tool of English foreign policy. I ask: how did Elizabethans use the Spanish language to understand the conflict with Spain and their roles therein? The emergent nationalism apparent in depictions of Spain influenced vernacular literary identities and simultaneously helped shape certain crucial figures' roles at court. The Spanish language thus played a central part in Elizabethan representations of England and its war with its most threatening rival.

3. Emblematic Figures and Idiosyncratic Interests

Although this thesis examines four figures as case studies in order to understand the use of Spanish and the English reaction to the Anglo-Spanish conflict, these authors, scholars and patrons are not alone in their political interests or activities. In this respect it builds on studies such as Judith Owens' examination of the extent to which Edmund Spenser's (1552-1599) 'Prothalamion' mirrored the commercial and political contexts of Essex's invasion of Cadiz.¹⁸ Owens shows that in the 'Prothalamion' Spenser cast the 'poet's role in generating a golden vision of empire' by using the imagery of the Anglo-Spanish conflict to depict himself as a politically significant mediator of poetic language.¹⁹ Spenser reflects on his own role, using the patriotic reputation of Essex and the conflict with which he was associated, but in so doing imagines the political place of poets more generally. It is tempting to make generalisations about international political relationships on the basis of the texts addressed. My aim, however, is primarily to explore how these particular significant figures deployed the Spanish language in order to develop their understanding of the conflict and, at times, their political reputation relative thereto, as is the case in Owen's study. I will explore a variety of different literary reactions to England's increasingly complex international relations. Yet, it is important to note that while explorations of the political potential of the vernacular are idiosyncratic, they were not isolated from each other or the larger social questions from which they sprung.

The figures who unify each chapter all tie their imagined futures to the political prospects of Sir Philip Sidney in one way or another. Alan Stewart shows how, to a greater or lesser extent, Leicester, Harvey, and Fraunce all individually comment upon Sidney's imminent trip to the Low Countries in 1578, while Paul E. J. Hammer characterises Essex as having inherited Sidney's role as the 'knightly champion of England's participation in the defence of

¹⁸ Judith Owens, 'Commerce and Cadiz in Spenser's "Prothalamion"', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 47 (2007), 79-106.

¹⁹ Owens, p. 86.

international Protestantism' upon the latter's death in 1586.²⁰ Disappointed that Sidney had been given leave to go to the Netherlands only as a private person, and not as a representative of the Queen, Leicester comments: 'Since my hap is not to be in so honourable a voyage nor ch[arge?], I would be most glad that my nephew might go to Casimir'.²¹ Meanwhile, Stewart notes, Gabriel Harvey compiled a volume of verse commending Elizabeth's retinue in which he presented Sidney as the image of the perfect courtier. In addition he dedicated an elogium to him 'a little before his departure'.²² Similarly, Abraham Fraunce dedicated a manuscript volume to Sidney, that depicts 'a scene from the *Aeneid* in which Achaemaendis, the castaway whom Odysseus has left with Polyphemus, begs to be rescued by Aeneas and his men [...; between] Achaemaendis' feet are the initials "A.F." (Abraham Fraunce)'.²³ Fraunce thus pleads not to be left behind as Sidney embarks on his sea voyage. Having studied at Cambridge with Fraunce and Harvey, the Earl of Essex used his military career, which began when he served under Leicester alongside Sidney in the Low Countries in 1585, to define his political persona.²⁴ While it would be difficult to sustain any claim that these authors, scholars, and patrons consciously responded to each other as their various roles in the Anglo-Spanish conflict developed, at times authors capitalised upon their broad affiliation with Sidney to contribute to their political self-definition. This destabilises the conventional picture of the Sidney-Herbert coterie at Wilton as being interested almost exclusively in innovations in poetic language for art's sake.²⁵ Instead, the dissertation offers a portrait of these figures as a porous group of soldiers, politicians, scholars, rhetoricians and poets, all working to establish their political futures by exploiting the developing vernacular language in the explicit context of a given international conflict.

By exploring these writers' and patrons' responses to England's increasingly strong political stance against Spain, its Catholicism and its expanding empire, this dissertation will

²⁰ Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), p. 206; Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>> [accessed 26 July 2012].

²¹ Stewart, p. 206. Stewart quotes Leicester from: London, British Library Additional MS 15891, f. 56b.

²² Stewart, p. 207.

²³ Stewart, p. 207.

²⁴ Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>> [accessed 26 July 2012].

²⁵ Garth Bond, "'Rare Poemes Aske Rare Friends': Ben Jonson, Coterie Poet", *Modern Philology*, 107 (2010), 380–99; Julie Crawford, 'Literary Circles and Communities', in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1500–1610* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 34–60; Julie Crawford, 'Sidney's Sapphics and the Role of Interpretive Communities', *English Literary History*, 69 (2002), 979–1007; Christina Malcolmson, *George Herbert: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004); Kevin Pask, 'The "Mannes State" of Philip Sidney: Pre-Scripting the Life of the Poet in England', *Criticism*, 36 (1994), 163–88.

present a range of examples of how contemporary foreign policy was understood through the invocation of Spanish language texts, both literary and more prosaic. While for some this investment was minor (Fraunce's patrons had a vested stake in the conflict but there is little evidence that he did; Harvey envisioned himself as a diplomatic secretary but hardly seems to have served as such) for others it became a defining feature of their political legacy (Leicester and Essex spent the last years of their lives trying to convince Elizabeth to endow them with greater military authority). Claire McEachern explains that:

The identity [unifying the English crown, church, and land] is an idealized [sic] one, as well as highly temporary [...]. Its moment is one when partisan differences among the English do indeed exist, but are expressed in a vocabulary of English and non-English rather than as differences among them.²⁶

By considering how the Spanish language was used to understand, construct and exploit the idea of the national enemy by Fraunce, Harvey, Leicester and Essex, I build upon McEachern's argument. Although the texts I examine often forward partisan perspectives for English foreign policy, they are able to frame their depictions of England using the galvanising threat of a common 'Other'. Abraham Fraunce, Gabriel Harvey, the Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Essex used the threat posed by Spain as a lens through which to see their political or diplomatic identity: the rhetorician might be the memorialiser of heroes; the secretary might travel abroad for important negotiations; the lexicographer might provide vocabularies with which to imagine the future of England; and the soldier might expand the empire and bring treasure to his waiting queen. As such, although their efforts and intentions were always individual, in some ways they also voice ideas typical of various subsets of Elizabethan political thought and aesthetic preferences.

4. The Idea of a Nation

The various representations of England upon which I comment are the product of individual imaginings rather than a unifying nationalism or even understanding of the state; indeed, the absence of a single nationalism produces the circumstances that allow for the creation of the range of texts I examine. The way in which the poets, patrons and scholars studied here figure England and Spain shifts over time. Understanding their own identities through comparison with their Iberian counterparts, these Englishmen attempt to shape public perception of their

²⁶ Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 4.

social and political roles. Thus instances of nationalism I examine in this dissertation always in some capacity use the idea of the state as a means of depicting the political role of one of the figures discussed above.

Benedict Anderson's very familiar definition describes a nation as 'an imagined political community [...that is] both inherently limited and sovereign' and this definition is followed by many subsequent critics.²⁷ Although he applies his definition primarily to contemporary nations, the notion that authors might exaggerate or invent features of their country and its relationships with foreign governments is fundamental to my study; we see this when, above, Sidney places English 'before any Vulgare language' and Harvey asserts that Italy, France, and Spain 'stand [...] altogethir uppon termes of honour and exquisite forms of speaches, karringe a certayne brave, magnificent grace and majesty with them'.²⁸ In both instances vernaculars are characterised as having strengths that differentiate their nation from others. The small readership claimed by the documents examined in this thesis is in contrast to the mass communication Anderson describes as fostering a collective sense of identity. Instead, many of the works I examine imply that they might be used by a unified English readership in support of a common goal for rhetorical effect. John Thorie (b. 1568) explains that 'love and affection toward [his] country men' led him to create the first Elizabethan Anglo-Spanish language guide and that he 'translated & altered this booke, that any English man may use it to his profite'.²⁹ The rhetoric Thorie employs implies that his book might claim a much wider audience than it likely did; many of the texts I examine use a similar parlance to suggest a broad readership even though in the early modern period only a tiny minority had access to even the most widely disseminated texts. Thus where Anderson addresses works that affect how groups imagine their country, I observe where authors present the possible effect of their texts on their countrymen and by so doing envisage a unified nation that did not in fact exist. Authors invoke the events of the Anglo-Spanish conflict to invent a shared national culture and common enemy; in this way, they imagine a community.

²⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006 (1983), p. 6. Also see: Alexander J. Motyl, *Imperial Ends : The Decay, Collapse, and Revival of Empires* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism : A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (New York : St. Martin's, 1997); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780 : Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World : A Derivative Discourse?* (London: Zed for the United Nations University, 1986); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986); John A. Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

²⁸ Gabriel Harvey, *The Letter Book of Gabriel Harvey A.D. 1573-1580*, ed. by Edward John Long Scott (London: The Camden Society, 1884), p. 65; Sidney, *The defence*, sigs. I4r- K1v.

²⁹ Antonio del Corro, *The Spanish grammar*, trans. by John Thorius (London: John Wolfe, 1590), sig. A3v, STC (2nd ed.) 5790.

An impulse to imagine the expanding English borders underpins many of the instances in which early modern Englishmen read or wrote in Spanish, which they invoked at times in order to critically reflect upon their idea of empire. This insight coincides with Ernest Gellner's explanation that 'nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist'.³⁰ Unlike Gellner, who considers the development of community-wide cultural conformity, I examine how particular authors, scholars and rhetoricians contribute to the invention of an English identity capable of asserting an international influence. Although Gellner's definition is insufficient for my purposes - there might be said to be many concrete realities defining England at the end of the sixteenth century - through examination of the works of the authors, patrons, and scholars included in this dissertation I show how certain key figures exploit the plasticity of the Anglo-Spanish conflict, and the English vision of empire that sometimes came with it, to suit their own rhetorical values and personal political aspirations, and so 'invent' their nation, their vernacular and the future of both.³¹

By developing an English identity, Elizabethans might assert that their country was distinct from its contemporaries on the European continent. McEachern explains that 'in the course of the sixteenth century ["nation"] comes to denote that principle of political self-determination belonging to a people linked (if in nothing else) by a common government'.³² She examines how propaganda and other explicitly political texts contribute to efforts to depict an English nation by explaining that 'John Bale [...] provides in his 1546 text *The Image of Both Churches* the founding typology of the later national imaginings'.³³ In so doing, she locates the development of the idea of England in propaganda designed to distinguish it from Catholic Europe. My methodology has much in common with McEachern's as I examine how national identity is derived through comparison with foreign literatures and the values they express. Gavin Alexander explains that the Reformation changed the culture of literary imitation between England and the continent:

[England's] culture had always been measured against that of the Continent, and its authors had been happy to take inspiration, especially from French and Italian sources.

³⁰ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), p. 169.

³¹ Various authors critique Gellner's approach to the idea of nationalism to make it more relevant to early modern Europe. See: Philip S. Gorski, 'The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of the Modernist Theory of Nationalism', *American Journal of Sociology*, 105 (2000), 1428-68; Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

³² McEachern, p. 1.

³³ McEachern, p. 2.

But as the Reformation gave an edge to questions about rivalry and dependence England now had much more to prove [...]. In Protestant England the stakes were high: the self-confidence of English literature, its sovereignty, its right to claim authentic descent from the classics - these concerns seem to move in parallel to questions of national sovereignty [...]. Literary and political nationalism worked hand in hand.³⁴

Steeped in a long history of imitation, it would perhaps not be surprising for Englishmen to follow a Spanish model as they worked to develop a language of empire, were it not for their distrust of Spaniards, which I shall explore below. Having achieved autonomy from Catholic Europe, it is counter-intuitive that English authors should still have turned to their oft-reviled enemy as a model. Richard Helgerson explains: 'to men born in the 1550s and 1560s, [the English vernacular] came to matter with a special intensity both because England itself mattered more than it had and because other sources of identity and cultural authority [i.e. the Catholic church] mattered less'.³⁵ Helgerson sees the Reformation as making space for English self-definition. Yet for the figures examined here, the idea of England had greater currency because other sources of cultural identity were suddenly transformed from distant allies to proximate enemies; rather than the potential for self-definition created by new autonomy from Catholic Europe, the opposition created by the Reformation added weight to the idea of Englishness.

Beyond their contemporary peers, Englishmen might turn to classical societies for examples of effective empire-building. In his *Observations in the art of English poesie* (1602) Thomas Campion (1567-1620) explains that English style, and particularly metrical poetry, is derived from an imperial succession through Greece and Rome that finally ends in England:

If the *Italians*, *Frenchmen* and *Spaniards*, that with commendation have written in Rime, were demaunded whether they had rather the bookes they have publisht (if their toong would beare it) should remaine as they are in Rime, or be translated into the auncient [meter] of the *Greekes* and *Romaines*, would they not answere into [metrical verse]? What honour were it then for our English language to be the first that after so many yeares of barbarisme could second the perfection of the industrious *Greekes* and *Romaines*?³⁶

³⁴ Sidney, *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, pp. xxi-xxii.

³⁵ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 3.

³⁶ Thomas Campion, *Observations in the art of English poesie* (London: Richard Field, 1602), sigs. A5r-5v, STC (2nd ed.) 4543.

Although he is specifically championing metrical verse, Campion's questions rather boldly suppose that other European vernaculars would regret their own poetic styles and forgo rhyme in favour of a form at last mastered by England. He thus asserts that the 'English language' is second to classical Greek and Latin, thereby besting '*Italians, Frenchmen and Spanyards*'. Separating these three nationalities from their imperial inheritance, Campion counterintuitively characterises English as classical and makes England the heir to metrical verse. For Campion, although English is distinct from Greek or Latin, its various imitations of classical forms set it apart from continental vernaculars.

The impulse to compare English with its antecedents sometimes led authors to look abroad in search of a model for their developing vernacular. Greek and Latin offered one possible prototype. Both these languages carry strong associations with empire; by linking this classical past to English, early modern writers sought to make a political statement. In terms of the Anglo-Spanish conflict, however, a Latin model might be fraught as Spain claimed a clearer descent from Rome than England. Various authors tried to navigate this problem. Sidney explained, for example, that:

For the uttering sweetly and properly the conceit of the minde, which is the end of speech, that hath [English] equally with any other tongue in the world. And is peticularly happy in compositions of two or three wordes together, neare the Greeke, farre beyond the Latine, which is one of the greatest bewties can be in a language [...].³⁷

Asserting an English aptitude for rhetorical expression Sidney proclaims that his vernacular is stylistically more elegant than Latin. The relative distance between English and the Romance languages is thus not a liability but rather gives it the scope to return to pre-Roman artistic heights. Alternatively, some authors try to distance Spanish from its heritage. *A pageant of Spanish humours* (1599), a Dutch book translated into English that satirically describes Spaniards, ostensibly for travellers, explains that a Spaniard likely

farre surpasses *Pharaoh* in crueltie, *Herod* in tyrannie, and Antiochus in bloodthirstinesse. It is inough, yea too too much knowne in our Netherlands, and not only in *Europe, Asia* and *Affrica*, but also in the farthest part of *America*, whereby he sheweth himselfe to bee sprung from the cruell *Goths* and blood-thirstie *Vandals*.³⁸

³⁷ Sidney, *The defence*, sigs. I4r- K1v.

³⁸ H.W., *A pageant of Spanish humours* (London: John Wolfe, 1599), sig. B3r, STC (2nd ed.) 23010. I am grateful to Alexander Samson for highlighting this passage.

Here, as Spain builds its empire, it reveals its true distance from a classical heritage by enacting its predisposition to the cruelty associated with the ‘*Goths*’ and the ‘*Vandals*’. As Elizabethans reached no clear consensus on the relationship between English and Latin, nor whether such a connection would be desirable, I will merely observe how various authors allude to a classical inheritance as they describe either English or Spanish in order to imply the pedigree and potential of the language. Developed through comparison with continental states, the patriotism underpinning the idea of England might be increased through reference to the conflict with Spain.

5. *The Image of Spain*

The idea that the state might be defined through contrast with an ‘Other’ has recurred in studies of travel literature for the past four decades. Edward Said explains that ‘the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, and experience’.³⁹ Griffin, along with other critics, applies this observation to early modern Anglo-Spanish relations: ‘it was the Spaniard, by virtue of his religious and ethnic difference, who could provide the otherness against which England was to measure its emerging sense of national self’.⁴⁰ Although in the sixteenth century Spain was only just coming into being – Charles V was king of the Spanish dominions, and when the idea of a singular Spain emerged it was a composite state made up of Aragon, Castile, Leon, and Andalucía – this thesis is concerned with how Englishmen react to the complex political threat levied by the Hispanic monarchy and what they conceived of (and referred to again and again) as Spain, regardless of the political reality this glossed. I will see where the shifting political unity of Iberia caused confusion for Elizabethans - Harvey struggles to understand Portuguese identity relative to Spain in 1594 – but am concerned exclusively with how various English authors used the idea of a unified and threatening Spain created by the animosity that existed between England and Philip II after the mid-1580s. The figures examined in this dissertation placed themselves at the crux of a conflict that threatened Elizabethan sovereignty, generally in a manner that capitalised upon the currency of a component of the conflict (usually a military event). Looking at a series of case studies, I consider the various ways authors depict certain key figures and their role within England and the court using Spanish or the idea of Spain. By so doing I extend Stephen Greenblatt’s observation that ‘self-fashioning is achieved in relation to

³⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 1978), p. 2.

⁴⁰ Griffin, p. 65.

something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile'; we shall see that Spain was sometimes imagined hyperbolically as particularly cruel and aggressive, adding to its poignancy as an idea against which the texts I examine define themselves or others.⁴¹ Yet the works my dissertation considers are not straightforward; Fraunce, Harvey, Essex and Leicester, and the authors associated with them, exploit the English sense of opposition to Spain but also draw from perceived Spanish success to sometimes consider affinity between Englishmen and their Iberian rivals, as might be the case in *The Arcadian rhetorike* or in some of Harvey's notes regarding naval strategy. In what remains of this introduction, I will contextualise my study within existing criticism examining the early modern English stereotypes of Spain and the various ways a sense of Englishness might be derived both through contradistinction with, and imitation of, the enemy.

English anxiety regarding Spain at the end of the sixteenth century led to the development of negative stereotypes of Spaniards expressed in texts like *A pageant of Spanish humours*, quoted above. According to David Weber, Spaniards were characterised as uniquely 'cruel, avaricious, treacherous, fanatical, superstitious, cowardly, corrupt, decadent, indolent, and authoritarian'.⁴² The Black Legend, or *leyenda negra*, is most fully examined in an English context by William Maltby in his *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (1971).⁴³ The English iteration of this trans-European tradition emphasises the avarice and duplicity of Spain (placing stress on the idea of lying and therefore naturally turning the focus to the moral value of the Spanish language itself).⁴⁴ Maltby identifies 1558, or the start of Elizabeth's reign, as the beginning of English defamation of their new enemy, but only by 1588 did Hispanophobia gain momentum in England. Griffin explains:

It was the period from 1588 until the moment of James I's ascension that saw Spain become 'Hispanized' [... This word initially] connoted a kind of popular Hispanophilia, a taste for 'things Spanish' or following the 'Spanish fashion'. In the context of England's late sixteenth century Spanish troubles, to be Hispanized implied one's sympathy towards Philip II [...] But the word and its various cognates gained their full

⁴¹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 9.

⁴² David Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 336.

⁴³ William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1971).

⁴⁴ Maltby, p. 4.

persuasive force only when they began to acquire the racist tinge of color [sic] in the post-Armada years.⁴⁵

This counter-intuitive mixture of an awareness of the successes of Spanish culture and fear of Philip II's aggression is seen in the quotation from *The alchemist* with which I began and underpins many of the instances that I examine in this thesis in which imitation and denigration of Spaniards or the Spanish language are strangely mixed with admiration and the impulse to imitate.

The Black Legend not only sets the tone for many of the depictions of Spain in this dissertation, but it also helps set the limits on the period examined. By considering almost exclusively texts composed or printed immediately following the Armada in 1588 I focus on works that reflect political fear of Spain. Ending my inquiry in 1596, following the Earl of Essex's raid upon the Spanish town of Cadiz, I trace the height of Anglo-Spanish tensions to a natural stopping point. Essex, perhaps the most hawkish of Elizabeth's courtiers, was sent to Ireland by early 1599, shifting England's foreign and colonial policy onto this more proximate problem.⁴⁶ My dissertation examines an English cultural fascination with, and perhaps anxiety regarding, the power of the Spanish language to influence perception of the conflict in England. As such, it returns again and again to English exploitation of the strong anti-Spanish bias described as the Black Legend.

Regardless of the pervasive social condemnation of Spain that became the Black Legend, early modern English authors imitated and appropriated elements of the Spanish language to various ends. This thesis is concerned with the counter-intuitive English impulse to turn to Spanish, the language of an enemy, as a medium through which to understand the conflict, particularly amongst some of the figures whose social circumstances or self-fashioning positioned them in opposition to Spain. Imitation and contradistinction are thus intricately

⁴⁵ Griffin explains that racial tensions were incorporated into *la leyenda negra* as ideas of Moorishness, Jewishness, and Turkishness were all conflated with Spanish identity as England considered the history of Spain. Joyce Boro echoes James Shapiro and Griffin as she explains that 'to write about nation and race in the sixteenth century independent of each other (and of theological paradigms) is to underestimate how racialised nationalism was, and how nationalised racial thinking was, at the time'. Margaret Tyler, *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood*, ed. by Joyce Boro (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2014), p. 7; Griffin, pp. 9-10; James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 3. Also see: *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. by Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

⁴⁶ Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>> [accessed 26 July 2012]; English control of Ireland had relevance to Spain, but this is outside the remit of this dissertation.

related.⁴⁷ Regardless of the pervasive nature of the Black Legend in this period ‘residual notions of Anglo-Spanish complementarity’ contributed to ‘substantial admiration and imitation [of Spain in England], even among those who were most emphatically opposed to Spanish policy’.⁴⁸ An English ‘anxiety about a muscular language was particularly acute, given the sense of belatedness that haunted both literary and imperial projects’, providing a motive for close analysis of Spanish works by Englishmen.⁴⁹ I consider what motivates English imitation of Spanish literature and pay particular attention to the counter-intuitive impulse to oppose Spain while simulating elements of their language and culture. For example, Harvey disingenuously identifies Spain as setting an effective example to which England might aspire when he laments ‘How easely might Sr Humfry Gilbert, or Captain Forbusher, or Captain Drake, have gained sum lyke opportunity? The Spaniards with bribes, have greatly advanced [Philip II’s] proceedings in the low countrys, and other places’.⁵⁰ In this example, Harvey cites English honesty as a strategic failing relative to Spain; his identification of the potential to imitate Spain defines England by contradistinction to subtly promote the English character. Yet in the same moment Harvey identifies the need to improve England’s naval strategy through an imitation of military prudence and deception. The impulse to mimic Spain was one of the principal ways in which English authors came to imagine England itself.

⁴⁷ Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire*, p. 2.

⁴⁸ Griffin, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 14.

⁵⁰ Sextus Julius Frontinus, *The strategemes, sleightes, and policies of warre gathered together, by S. Julius Frontinus, and translated into Englyshe, by Richard Morysine* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1539), sig. H8v, STC (2nd ed.) 11402. Harvey’s copy of Frontinus’s work can be found at Boston, Harvard University, Houghton Library, STC 11402.

This dissertation establishes the interplay between English literary and political culture at the end of the sixteenth century. As tensions rose following the attack of the Armada, early modern authors imagined England in relief against Spain. This phenomenon prompts my examination of how the conflict affected the use of Spanish texts in England during the second half of Elizabeth's reign. Although Abraham Fraunce, Gabriel Harvey, the Earl of Leicester, and the Earl of Essex each had different perspectives on the Anglo-Spanish conflict, they are unified in their use of the vernacular language to understand contemporary politics and imagine the future of a conflict. Depictions of Spain are used to define emergent literary identities and fashion courtiers' political roles. Literature thus shaped contemporary understanding of these four authors, scholars and patrons relative to Elizabeth's war with England's greatest rival.

Chapter I:
Spanish Sources in Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadian rhetorike*
and the Summer of 1588

Abraham Fraunce's (1558–1593) rhetorical manuals, logical guides and poetry document and promote stylistic devices characteristic of continental vernaculars and classical languages. Through poetic excerption and literary imitation, modes of composition upon which Fraunce particularly focuses, his work reacts to its political moment and considers the role of language, and by extension the poet and rhetorician, as England's role relative to other European countries developed in the 1580s. This chapter focuses on his use of Spanish poetry in *The Arcadian rhetorike* (1588), examined here as a case study of how Fraunce's rhetorical analysis reflects his political interests, and perhaps the concerns of Englishmen more broadly, in the autumn of 1588.¹ By so doing I extend critical understanding of Fraunce's motivation for his imitative use of the vernacular. Katherine Koller identifies the extent of Fraunce's influence on early modern literary practices:

To Meres he ranked with Sidney, Spenser, Chalonier, and Watson among the best for pastoral. Nashe spoke of him as sweet Master Fraunce who had shown what could be done in English hexameters. To Peele he was 'the peerless sweet translator of our times.' [Sic] Greene imitated him in *Lady Fitzwater's Nightingale*, Spenser praised him, and Gabriel Harvey was for many years his fervent admirer [...]. Fraunce was able to consider his literary friends and audience the intellectuals of Cambridge, the young sophisticates of Gray's Inn and the serious literati of the Sidney circle.²

Just as Koller highlights Fraunce's influence on early modern vernacular writing across a range of genres, from pastoral to metrical verse to translation, I show that his work reacts to the political crisis that faced England in 1588 and was in this way representative of a phenomenon that characterises various authors' use of the vernacular at this historical moment.

Fraunce has primarily been studied as a conduit for the circulation of Renaissance poetry. Steven May identifies him as a likely transmitter of the work of Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), Edmund Spenser (1552-1599), and Christopher Marlowe (bap. 1564-1593).³ H. R. Woudhuysen demonstrates Fraunce's centrality to the circulation of literary

¹ Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588), STC (2nd ed.) 11338.

² Katherine Koller, 'Abraham Fraunce and Edmund Spenser', *English Literary History*, (1940), 108–120 (pp. 108–109).

³ Steven W. May, 'Marlowe, Spenser, Sidney and – Abraham Fraunce?', *Review of English Studies*, 62 (2011), 29–41.

manuscripts at the University of Cambridge in his *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts* (1996).⁴ In this chapter I will expand critical understanding of Fraunce's importance as a transmitter of literary thought by observing instances of correspondence between *The Arcadian rhetorike* and an unexpected contemporary Spanish source, Fernando de Herrera's (1534-1597) *Obras de Garci Lasso de la Vega con Anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera* (1580). I will add to critical discourse focused on Fraunce as a transmitter and mediator of literature, and offer new insight into the English understanding of the political importance of the Spanish vernacular in the wake of the Armada. I consider both the literary and the social implications of early modern textual transmission as Fraunce's works provide his peers with access to Spanish literature and perhaps a new medium through which they may have approached the political situation that faced their country.

The Spanish quotations *The Arcadian rhetorike* includes reflect the moment in which it is printed, a crisis in Elizabethan national security. Fraunce excerpts Juan Boscán Almagáver's (1490?-1542) *Leandro* more often, and more copiously, than the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega (1501-1536), although I shall examine only the latter in this chapter.⁵ Warren Boutcher shows that some early modern Englishmen understood Boscán's *Leandro* to be at the 'center [sic] of a collection of lyric poetry designed to participate in the emergence of an imperial Spanish and Spanish-Neapolitan culture of arms and letters matching that of the Greeks and Romans'.⁶ My study aims to further consider how the Spanish texts Fraunce excerpts might be perceived in the wake of the Armada. To do so I will consider Fraunce's use of the poetry of Boscán's compatriot, Garcilaso de la Vega, to offer new evidence of the rhetorician's detailed and scholarly study of Spanish poetry and his sympathy with Herrera's contemporary rhetorical thought. Most of Fraunce's oeuvre, and particularly *The lawiers logike* (1588), advocates an English poetics based on European models without drawing upon Spanish.⁷ Yet *The Arcadian rhetorike*, which appeared against the backdrop of the summer of 1588, carefully incorporates examples taken from Spanish texts. The fact that Fraunce's turn towards Spanish coincided with the approach of the Armada prompts my inquiry into how *Arcadian rhetorike*'s use of Spanish texts might reflect the political moment in which it was printed.

⁴ H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 246, 356.

⁵ Warren Boutcher, "'Who Taught Thee Rhetorike to Deceive a Maid?': Christopher Marlowe's Hero and Leander, Juan Boscán's Leandro, and Renaissance Vernacular Humanism', *Comparative Literature*, 52 (2000), 11-52 (p. 38).

⁶ Boutcher, p. 32.

⁷ Abraham Fraunce, *The lawiers logike* (London: William How, 1588), STC (2nd ed.) 11344.

The literary circles in which critics have so often placed Fraunce were concerned with the creation of England's foreign policy under Elizabeth. The Sidney's influence upon Fraunce's poetic and rhetorical works is well established. It seems likely that the political tension between England and Spain, which had been to some extent cultivated by the Sidney family and the courtiers connected with it throughout the 1580s, may also have influenced the work produced by Fraunce in 1588. Fraunce's *The Arcadian rhetorike* sets the poetry and prose of Sir Philip Sidney alongside examples of French, Italian, Spanish, Greek and Latin literature. His work lists literary tropes and provides a very brief explanation of each, followed by illustrative examples. While Fraunce's inclusion of Spanish amongst his collection of European poetry necessarily approaches contemporary politics in its analysis of vernacular rhetoric, the Spanish-language passages are not inherently contentious. Yet I argue *The Arcadian rhetorike* is not neutral in its internationalism; printed just two years after England's role in the Netherlands expanded and Fraunce's patron, Sidney, was killed as he fought against the expanding influence of Philip II in the Low Countries, *The Arcadian rhetorike* signals its relevance to the growing English antipathy for Spain from the moment it invokes the name of *Arcadia*. I will show that *The Arcadian rhetorike*'s treatment of Garcilaso closely parallels Herrera's analysis of the Spaniard's poetry; while it is impossible to prove that Fraunce worked from this recent edition, I submit that the similarities between the two works suggest that Fraunce was sympathetic with Herrera's political, as well as rhetorical, analysis of Garcilaso's work.⁸ Herrera's edition underscores the patriotism implicit in Garcilaso's poems as an important part of Spain's colonial ambitions and success.⁹ This mirrors Fraunce's own efforts to memorialise Sidney and brings the political implications of such a project to the fore. I ask, how might consciousness of the imperialism of Herrera's treatment of Garcilaso increase the relevance of Fraunce's project to the political situation of 1588? Ultimately I show that *The Arcadian rhetorike* itself is best understood in light of, and may have been part of, a printing trend that reacted to the threat posed by Spain, and its language, at the height of the shadow cast by the Armada and its eventual defeat in 1588.

1. *Parallels Between Herrera's Obras de Garci Lasso and the Arcadian rhetorike*

Congruities between *The Arcadian rhetorike* and Fernando de Herrera's annotated commentary on the poetry of Garcilaso indicate that Fraunce may have been familiar with

⁸ Fernando de Herrera, *Obras de Garci Lasso de la Vega con Anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera* (Seville: Alonso de la Barrera, 1580).

⁹ Richard Helgerson, *A Sonnet from Carthage: Garcilaso de la Vega and the New Poetry of Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 1-7.

this Spanish rhetorical treatise. Of the nine quotations *The Arcadian rhetorike* attributes to Garcilaso, eight are passages Herrera also explicates. Until now, critics have assumed that Fraunce's source for Garcilaso's poetry must have been one of the many editions that paired the poet's work with that of his friend, Boscán. While it is impossible to prove that Fraunce read Herrera, by analysing the similarities in their rhetorical classification of Garcilaso's work I will suggest that the Englishman may have been conscious of his Spanish contemporary's patriotic analysis of the poetry. Fraunce's sympathy, and perhaps familiarity, with Herrera provides an important political, as well as literary and bibliographical, context for the Englishman's excerption of Spanish poetry in the *Arcadian rhetorike*. Herrera's edition of Garcilaso's *Obras* is overtly nationalist and casts Garcilaso as a crucial participant in Spain's imperial success, characterising the poet's writing as indicative of the growing Spanish empire.¹⁰ In the summer of 1588 Herrera's perspective on the Spanish vernacular had particular salience to English readers as they confronted the threat of Spain's imperial power in the form of the Grand Armada. Although Fraunce's work is driven by a desire to understand and categorise rhetorical tropes, Herrera's commentary would make him aware of a connection between political power and the Spanish language. By examining how Herrera's rhetorical explanations correspond with treatment of Garcilaso's poetry in *The Arcadian rhetorike*, I will explore some of the international literary contexts that may have given rise to Fraunce's guide.

Garcilaso and Boscán were court poets writing under Charles V, whose imperial ideology increasingly came to characterise Castile as the heart of a global empire. Their poetry consciously promotes a narrative of *translatio imperii* and in this way was identified with Spain's imperial progress.¹¹ Garcilaso's poetry was originally edited by Boscán and Ana Girón de Rebolledo.¹² From 1543 until 1580 the Spaniards' poetry was published together without much explanatory annotation.¹³ This changed in 1580 with Herrera's edition of *Obras de Garci Lasso*, which includes extensive notes on each poem, a lengthy essay on poetic genres, a biography of Garcilaso, and a collection of commendatory verse. Most significantly, it includes an introduction by Herrera's contemporary, the Andalusian poet

¹⁰ Helgerson, p. 1-7.

¹¹ Mary E. Barnard, *Garcilaso de la Vega and the Material Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 3; *Garcilaso y su época: del amor y la guerra*, ed. by José María Díez Borque and Luis Ribot García (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2003), pp. 19-27.

¹² Bryant Creel, 'Garcilaso de la Vega (1499 or 1503- 14 October 1536)', in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Sixteenth Century Spanish Humanism*, ed. by Gregory B. Kaplan (New York: Thomson-Gale, 2006), CCCXVIII, 62-83 (p. 16).

¹³ E. Ernesto Delgado, 'Juan Boscán (circa 1490-21 September 1542)', in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Sixteenth Century Spanish Humanism*, ed. by Gregory B. Kaplan (New York: Thomson-Gale, 2006), CCCXVIII, 15-24 (p. 16).

Francisco de Media, declaring in no uncertain terms the importance of vernacular language to the development of the Spanish empire. He explains that ‘it has always been the natural intent of a victorious people to endeavor [sic] to spread the use of its language at least as far as the limits of its empire’.¹⁴ In both pastoral and sonnet form Garcilaso’s complex poetry focuses on love, amongst a range of other themes. Richard Helgerson shows that it is also preoccupied with the memory of Rome, a fact that is reflected in ‘the praises Media and Herrera lavish on Garcilaso and the poetic works, especially the heroic poems among them, that follow self-consciously in the wake of Virgil and his celebration of Rome’s imperial destiny’.¹⁵ Helgerson shows that Herrera’s reading transforms Garcilaso’s already patriotic poetry into a rhetorical guide that explicitly explores the imperial implications of the Spanish language. Like Herrera, Fraunce excerpts Garcilaso’s poetry in order to explain the rhetorical devices he examines in his treatise. I argue that the portions of Garcilaso’s poetry the Englishman includes in *The Arcadian rhetorike* demonstrate a far greater sympathy for his Spanish contemporary than has been previously identified.

Both Herrera and Fraunce exemplify *anaphora* with a portion of Garcilaso’s fifth sonnet, a poem of love and despair: ‘for you was I born, for you I hold my life;/ for you I will die, and am dying, here and now’.¹⁶ Herrera discusses the terms ‘*estrito*’, ‘*enesto*’, ‘*mi alma*’, ‘*abito*’, ‘*cuanto tengo*’ and ‘*por vos*’. He uses the latter (‘*por vos*’, or ‘for you’), which recurs throughout the final couplet, to exemplify *anaphora*.¹⁷ In 1588 Fraunce uses the same couplet to exemplify the same trope, which he defines as:

[...] the continued repetition of the same word in one or divers sentences: now followeth the severed repetition of the same sound, and that either in the same place, or in divers. In the same place, either simple or conjoined. Simple, *Anaphora* and *Epistrophe*. *Anaphora* a bringing back of the same sound, is when the same sound, is iterated in the beginning of the sentence.¹⁸

¹⁴ Helgerson, p. 5. Herrera, sig. A1r: ‘*Siempre fue natural pretension de las gentes vitoriosas, procurar estender no menos el uso de sus lenguas, que los terminos de sus imperios*’. *Las Obras de Garci Lasso* begins at sig. A1 with its title page and then returns to sig. A1 at the beginning of Media’s introduction.

¹⁵ Helgerson, p. xv.

¹⁶ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. D1v: ‘*Por vos naci, por vos tengo la vida, / Por vos he de morir, y por vos muero*’. Garcilaso, Sonnet V, lns. 13-14. All translations from Garcilaso included in this chapter are from: Garcilaso de la Vega, *Selected Poems of Garcilaso de la Vega*, trans. by John Dent-Young (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

¹⁷ Herrera, sigs. F8v-G1r: ‘*Es sinonimia tetrácolos, que es de quatro miembros, cuándo van unas clausulas como otras de tantas silabas, i dizen en si lo mesmo. i es anáfora la repeticion por vos. i antiteto, o contrapuesto de nacer i morir, i muerte i vida. la anáfora, se llama en latin i Español relacion, o repeticion, quando se buelve a poner la mesma voz; i enesto dista dela epanáfora, porque esta lo que puso una vez buelve a dezir una i otra. difiere esta repeticion o epanáfora de la epanalésis solo enel sitio. porque en la resuncion se puede poner la voz en cualquier lugar dos i tres vezes; en la repeticion no si no enel principio como este lugar*’.

¹⁸ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. C8v.

In *The Arcadian rhetorike* this passage from Garcilaso follows one from Boscán's *Leandro*. Yet at this moment Fraunce's sympathy with Herrera is particularly evident, as both rhetoricians explain *anaphora* by negation. Fraunce differentiates *anaphora* from *epistrophe* by explaining that the former puts repetition at the beginning of a sentence whereas the later leads to reiterated syllables at the end of a phrase.¹⁹ For Herrera, *anaphora* differs from *epanaphora* and '*epanalexis* [sic]', the latter of which is probably intended as *epanalepsis*, a trope Fraunce himself addresses several pages after his discussion of *anaphora*. Herrera explains that *anaphora* differs from these two tropes by requiring that repetition come at the beginning of the phrase. Fraunce's definition seems to reflect Herrera's as it too focuses on the location of repetition as a key feature of *anaphora* in order to differentiate it from other repeating tropes. The similarity in the two rhetoricians' treatment of this short passage from Garcilaso's Sonnet V - their shared classification of Garcilaso's rhetorical tropes and their shared silence regarding other aspects of his poem - is evidence that Fraunce's excerption might be guided by the Spaniard's edition. Fraunce's interest in this passage seems to be solely rhetorical; yet if he shared Herrera's nationalist understanding of the work, his study would necessarily develop hand-in-hand with an awareness of the imperial importance of the poetry.

Fraunce discusses 'exclamation' at length. At eighteen pages it is his longest explanation in the rhetorical manual and contains the most substantial examples from all the authors included in the treatise. For his Spanish excerpts, Fraunce turns to Garcilaso after four examples of exclamation from Boscán.²⁰ Fraunce uses several excerpts from Garcilaso to demonstrate exclamation, one of which is used to exemplify 'cursing':

How can it be, O God,
when from your vantage point
You see this perjurer
contrive the death of so intimate a friend,
there comes to her no punishment from heaven?²¹

Fraunce's and Herrera's transcriptions of this passage are identical. Herrera describes the section as 'vehement exclamation', different from, but of a similar intensity to, the 'cursing' Fraunce describes.²² Herrera also offers an explanation of the term '*falsa perjurá*', explaining that emotion and a sense of injustice are created by this epithet following a reference to

¹⁹ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. D1v.

²⁰ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sigs. E6v-8r.

²¹ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. F3v: 'O dios porque si quiera/ pues ves desde tu altura,/ esta falsa periura,/ causarla muerte d'un estrecho amigo,/ no recibe d'el cielo alcun castigo?'. Garcilaso, Eclogue I, lns. 91-95. For translation see: Dent-Young, pp. 124-27.

²² Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. F3v; Herrera, sig. Ee1v: '*Esclamacion vehemente*'.

God's power and apparent inaction in the face of outrage; the term gains meaning by its proximity to the invocation of '*ó Dios*'.²³ In Herrera's analysis of the final line of the passage (also quoted by Fraunce), 'there comes to her no punishment from heaven', he explains that the term '*no recibe*' alludes to the Latin apologist Marcus Minucius Felix's (fl. 150-270 AD) *Octavius* and its chapter on oaths and so evokes the idea of an avenging God.²⁴ In this way Fraunce's description of exclamation might gloss three of Herrera's explanations (for the term '*ó Dios*', the term '*falsa perjura*', and the term '*no recibe*'), bringing together the idea of strong interjection with the importance of invoking God's name in his term 'cursing'. Fraunce's possible awareness of Herrera's work might explain why *The Arcadian rhetorike* excerpts five lines from Eclogue I when just the first would have sufficed to exemplify 'cursing'. This similarity is further evidence of the sympathy between Fraunce's guide and Herrera's and, I argue, suggests that the Englishman might have been familiar with the Spaniard's text.

Fraunce and Herrera both identify and comment upon the same example of 'exclamation' found in Garcilaso's Sonnet XIII, which the Englishman excerpts as: 'O wretched state, o monumental ill,/ that the tears he weeps should cause each day to grow/ that which is the cause and motive for his grief'.²⁵ Herrera examines '*O miserable*', explaining that it is exclamation, and offering a lengthy discussion of how Garcilaso's sonnet differs from the story of Daphne as told by Ovid, Homer and other classical sources.²⁶ Fraunce does not draw from Herrera's discussion of the classical inheritance of Garcilaso's Sonnet XIII, although the Spaniard's lengthy exegesis on the literary history of 'Arcadia' might have been considered relevant to Sidney's work. Yet the two rhetoricians' readings of the sonnet bear striking similarities in their focus on exclamation. Like Herrera, Fraunce treats

²³ Herrera, sig. Ee1v: '*Puede parecer epíteto ocioso, porq̃ ningun perjuro ál, que no seã falso. mas aquí por la indinaciõ, es maravilloso; por que acrecienta la invidia, i deciende del genero a la especie, i se declara uno por otro; esta falsa que quebrantò el juramento, que esta es la naturaleza del perjuro, como dize el mesmo en la egloga 2. A Ninfa desleal, I dessa suerte/ se guarda el juramento que me diste? i por dezir mejor falsa perjura es la que injustamente quebranta juramento; porque falso quiere dizir injusto, segun justimano en sus instituciones. i quiere aquí esagerar su crueldad de la suerte que el derecho agrava mas al testigo falso, que al perjuro*'.

²⁴ Herrera, sig. Ee1v: '*Proque iuris iurandi contemta religio satis Deum ultorem habet*'.

²⁵ Sonnet XIII often appears in anthologies and is cited as an example of Garcilaso's most accomplished work. Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. F4v: '*O miserable estado, o mal tamanno,/ que conllorarla, crezca cada dia/ la causa y la raxon porque lloraua*.' Garcilaso, Sonnet XIII, lns. 12-14. For translation see: Dent-Young, pp. 28, 39.

²⁶ Herrera, sig. I7r: '*Esclamacion, por la cual con mas intensa pronunciacion declaramos el movimiento de nuestro animo. Acabado ya esto, falta aora declarar la fabula i tocar los lugares de la imitacion. Paléfato dize que Dafne fue hija dela tierra i del rio Ladon. S. Juã Crisostomo dize lo mesmo, y trata esta fabula escriuiendo contra los gentiles, i son dela mesma sentecia Aftonio i el interprete de Licofron. mas Partenio la haze hija de Amiclas, i dize que lacinto es su ermano i hijo de Amiclas, i su madre, como añade el interprete de Nicãdro, es Diomeda. Ovidio la llama hija del rio Peneo. El interprete de Omero, i Cassio Dionisio Uticese en el II lib. de la agric. q̃ algunos atribuyeron a Costan tino Cesar, dizen q̃ fue Dafne hermoisissima hija del rio Ladon de Arcadia, i encendido Apolo en amor suyo la seguia perdido por ella [...]*'.

the passage as exclamation, explaining that ‘*Epiphonema* is a kinde of exclamation when after the discourse ended, we adde some short acclamation, as a conclusion or shutting up of all in wondring wise’.²⁷ The proximity of their rhetorical projects and the relevance of Herrera’s history of the pastoral could hardly fail to present themselves to Fraunce. Boutcher uses John Hoskins’s (1566–1638) commentary on romance to explain that Sidney’s *Arcadia* negotiates the problem of England’s place in Europe, as it owes its plot to both classical and modern vernacular sources. Hoskins explains the romance looks to ‘Helidorus in Greek, Sannazarius’ *Arcadia* in Italian, and *Diana* [by] de Montemayor in Spanish’.²⁸ Like Hoskins and Herrera, Fraunce sets his predecessor’s work in relief against that of a range of European authors, reflecting an early modern English tendency to look abroad to create a context for vernacular literary style. Thus although Fraunce does not recreate Herrera’s history of the pastoral form, it would not be surprising if the English rhetorician found this moment in the Spanish poetry compelling. The similarity in the two guides’ categorisation of the passage leads to the question that the rest of this chapter will consider: did the similarities between Fraunce and Herrera stop at their thoughts about rhetoric, or do their works suggest that they share some of the patriotism evident in the Spanish treatise? Does *The Arcadian rhetorike* reflect its political moment as it enumerates poetic examples?

Although Fraunce’s quotations from Garcilaso are almost exclusively from passages annotated by Herrera, and while there are striking similarities between the two rhetoricians’ treatment of the text, the Englishman does not always use the passages to exemplify the same thing as the Spaniard. When Fraunce’s annotation differs from that of Herrera, it is often an indication of a misreading or even a mis-transcription of the Spanish.²⁹ Fraunce exemplifies *paronomasia* with an excerpt from Garcilaso’s second eclogue, lines 184–185. Fraunce excerpts these lines as: ‘*acompañada/ De un amor llano y lleno de pureza*’, a mis-transcription that should read ‘*acompañada/ de un amor sano y lleno de pureza*’ (and therefore not in fact exemplify *paronomasia* at all).³⁰ He defines the trope as ‘when a word is changed in

²⁷ In this Fraunce mirrors Richard Sherry’s explanation that ‘*Epiphonema*, is an acclamacion of any matter that is tolde, or alowed: that is to say, an amplifying of honestie, dignitie, profite, difficultie, or suche other like’. Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. F3v; Richard Sherry, *A treatise of the figures of grammer and rhetorike, profitable for al that be studious of eloquence, and in especiall for suche as in grammer scholes doe reade moste eloquente poetes and oratours* (Londini: Robert Caly in ædibus Ricardi Totteli, 1555), sig. C6r, STC (2nd ed.) 22429

²⁸ Boutcher, p. 12. Also see: John Hoskins, *Directions for Speech and Style*, ed. by Hoyt H. Hudson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935), p. 41.

²⁹ In the following discussion I will give Fraunce’s quotations from Garcilaso in either English or Spanish, depending upon which language allows me to best engage with his meaning; thus for structural tropes (like rhyme) the passage will be given in Spanish.

³⁰ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. D6r; Herrera, sigs. Gg4r, Nn3v–4v; Garcilaso, Eclogue II, lns. 184–185.

signification by changing of a letter or syllable'.³¹ There is some irony in Fraunce's Spanish example that, presumably accidentally, changes an essential letter in the last line of his quotation from Garcilaso and so changes the passage's meaning. The *paronomasia* in '*llano y lleno*', as Fraunce quotes the line, would be obvious, but would obscure any meaning from lines 184 and 185, drawing Albino's explanation of his love to a very unsatisfactory close. Fraunce's mis-transcription is shared by most contemporary editions, although not by Herrera.³² This indicates that if Fraunce worked from Herrera's edition, he consulted it alongside an earlier edition that paired Garcilaso's poetry with that of Boscán (as was necessarily the case, given *The Arcadian rhetorike*'s inclusion of the poetry of the latter). This might suggest that if Fraunce did indeed consult Herrera's work, he did so only to supplement his more exhaustive study in an earlier edition (something also suggested by his much more extensive excerption from Boscán). While this would seem to diminish the congruence with Herrera I observe to only a small part of his Spanish study, it is suggestive of an eagerness to offer a considered and complete reading that contrasts with Fraunce's rhetorical categorisation of the text. The impulse to use this passage, which for Fraunce must have been particularly meaningless (due to the mis-transcription), to exemplify a rhetorical trope conforms to a type of Renaissance analysis that focuses on enumerating rhetorical devices.³³ Throughout *The Arcadian rhetorike*, across the languages that it includes, Fraunce always focuses on rhetorical examples before the meaning of verse. Thus the political interest that this chapter suggests may underpin Fraunce's analysis of Garcilaso's poetry in the *Arcadian rhetorike* adds complexity to its apparent conformity to a ubiquitous early modern form of rhetorical analysis that might otherwise appear disengaged from its historical contexts.

Fraunce's use of Garcilaso's second eclogue as an example of rhyme differs from the analysis of the same passage offered by Herrera, and again indicates a transcription error. It implies that Fraunce sought examples of the use of rhetorical devices even in languages in which he may not have been fully literate (or at least in passages he did not fully understand), perhaps because of their relevance to the political moment. Fraunce highlights the similarity between a rhyme scheme that occurs in the work of Garcilaso, Sidney and Petrarch when he excerpts the quotation: '*Filomena sospira en dulce canto,/ En*

³¹ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sigs. D5r-v.

³² Carles Amorosa's 1543 and 1554 edition use '*sano*', as does P. de Castro's 1544 edition printed in Medina del Câpo and M Antonio de Salamanca's 1547 edition printed in Rome (I am grateful to the British Library catalogue for identifying the place of origin of this edition); all subsequent editions to which I have had access (Leon, 1549; Antwerp, 1550 (both), 1554, 1569, 1576; Toledo, 1558) use '*llano*'.

³³ Philip Sidney, *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. by Gavin Alexander (London: Penguin, 2004), pp. xl-xlii.

amoroso llanto se amanzilla/ Gime la tortolilla sobre el elmo [sic], *℥*.³⁴ Here Fraunce does not explain a particular trope but instead ‘confusedly insert[s] a number of conceited verses’ to demonstrate different rhyme schemes, identifying a breakdown in his otherwise systematic work.³⁵ Where Garcilaso uses the word ‘*olmo*’, the Spanish word for ‘elm’, Fraunce transcribes ‘elmo’, making the Spanish word into a cognate. Fraunce’s excerpt ends with ‘*℥*’, and this curtailment conceals his error. This is because ‘*olmo*’ should be the rhyming word in this line, essential to the phenomenon Fraunce describes as he explains that the poem has ‘a rime, wherein the last word of the first doth jumpe in sound with the middle word of the second [...]’.³⁶ ‘*Olmo*’ should rhyme with ‘*colmo*’, as it does in Herrera’s edition and all other early editions of Garcilaso’s poetry to which I have had access.³⁷ It seems likely that Fraunce saw that ‘elmo’ at best creates a slant rhyme with ‘*colmo*’ and so stops his quotation when he does. This may indicate that he added the passage hastily or when he no longer had access to Garcilaso’s text, a comparison with which would have allowed him to correct his error.

He compares this passage with Sidney’s:

Up, up, Philisides, let sorrowes goe,
Who yeelds to woe, doth but increase his smart:
Doo not thy heart to plaintfull custome bring,
But let us sing, *℥*.³⁸

Fraunce’s continuation of Sidney’s verse to the mid-line rhyme indicates that the curtailment of the quotation from Garcilaso indeed reflects an unwillingness to introduce the slant-rhyme that is inevitable with his mis-quotation; by taking half a line more from Sidney Fraunce demonstrates the phenomenon he describes by ending on a rhyme. But why does he so doggedly include a Spanish passage that does not wholly conform to the phenomenon he is exemplifying? Herrera explicates the same passage that Fraunce excerpts, and declares that the poem reproduces the image of a cooing turtledove from the first eclogue of Virgil and that a later passage corresponds very closely with Sannazaro’s eighth eclogue.³⁹ Herrera does not comment upon rhyme, but rather places the passage

³⁴ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorik*, sig. D8r; Garcilaso, Eclogue II, lns. 1147-1149.

³⁵ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. D7r.

³⁶ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. D8v.

³⁷ Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, ed. by Ethel Seaton (Oxford: Luttrell Society, 1950), p. xxxiv. I have not had access to the 1556 Antwerp edition, but if it contained this error it might be possible to reduce Seaton’s list of Fraunce’s probable sources of Boscán from six to one.

³⁸ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. D8v. Also see: Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia (The Old Arcadia)*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 64.

³⁹ Herrera, sig. Pp6r: ‘*Ami, como* este verso i el siguiente son umildes i infelices de lengua i pensamiento [...] *gime* por que quando canta la tortolilla parece que gime; i es tradio de la primera ecloga de Virgilio [...] es malta) Sannazaro en la ecloga 8 [...]’.

within a developing history of pastoral imagery. Yet even though there is no indication that Fraunce used Herrera's explanation to inform his understanding of this passage, or indeed that he understood this passage at all, there is a sympathy between Fraunce's and Herrera's efforts to situate their subjects, Sidney and Garcilaso respectively, within a rhetorical tradition dating back to antiquity, a project that, for the Spaniard at least, was wrapped up with Spain's imperial destiny. Thus, whether or not Fraunce did in fact use Herrera's analysis to inform his understanding of Garcilaso's poetry, it seems that the two rhetoricians may have shared a sense of the political importance of establishing a developmental context for their respective vernaculars from Greece and Rome through modern Europe.

Fraunce analyses nine passages that he attributes to Garcilaso (a tenth is erroneously attributed to Boscán), eight of which Herrera also explicates.⁴⁰ Furthermore, as we have seen, Fraunce regularly uses the passages to illustrate the same tropes that Herrera uses them to demonstrate. Thus although critics have assumed that Fraunce draws from only a single Spanish anthology (an early edition) as he quotes from Garcilaso and Boscán, there is significant evidence that the rhetorician's study of Spanish is not so limited. Ethel Seaton suggests that the typesetting of Fraunce's Spanish excerpts may reflect the edition in which he originally read the poetry of Garcilaso and Boscán, explaining that 'Fraunce chooses a large clear italic type for his Spanish quotations; this suggests that he saw a copy of the *Obras* [Boscán's edition of Garcilaso] in similar type, such as that of 1547'.⁴¹ Seaton's explanation of Fraunce's type choice, although correct in so far as it is reminiscent of the 1547 edition, is reductive; the effect of the page layout upon the reader is ignored, which in *The Arcadian rhetorike* differentiates the Spanish excerpts from other languages; each language in *The Arcadian rhetorike* appears in a unique typeface. Printed in larger type than the quotations included from Sidney's works, the Spanish excerpts appear particularly prominently. Fraunce includes excerpts from Spanish immediately before his chapter breaks, last in his list of languages but noticeable because of the white space that follows. Their position last in a number of collected examples creates the sense that the inclusion of Spanish in the work may have been an afterthought and perhaps indicates that it may have been added close to the time of the work's publication, reflecting a growing English concern over the language of the aggressor as the Armada loomed in the Channel. The bold lettering draws the reader's eye to the Spanish examples. Whether the work of the text's printer, Thomas Orwin, seeking to increase its marketability in the summer of 1588,

⁴⁰ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, ed. by Ethel Seaton, p. xxxiv.

⁴¹ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, ed. by Ethel Seaton, p. xxxv.

or Fraunce himself, the typesetting of *The Arcadian rhetorike* undoubtedly highlights the Spanish excerpts for the reader. A more complex relationship with the Spanish vernacular thus emerges from Fraunce's Spanish excerpts, and particularly the passages from the work of Garcilaso, than can be satisfactorily attributed to origins in a edition printed forty years earlier or a humanist devotion to rhetorical classification.

2. Bartholomew Yong's Notes on Garcilaso

We have seen that elements of Fraunce's treatment of the poetry of Garcilaso in his *Arcadian rhetorike* correspond with Herrera's commentary; I now wish to develop this point further by suggesting that sympathy with Herrera's rhetorical explanations might indicate an awareness of the political importance the Spaniard attributed to his language. To do so I will examine the annotations of Fraunce's contemporary, Bartholomew Yong (bap. 1560, d. 1612), in an early edition of Garcilaso's work, first noticed by Warren Boutcher:

There is [...] an extremely close relationship between Yong's annotations and Fraunce's selections: both concentrate heavily on Boscán's *Leandro* and Garcilaso's first two eclogues. Furthermore, Yong marks the beginning of the inset historia of the House of Toledo in Garcilaso's second eclogue with the note "Histo. past."-presumably "Pastoral history".⁴²

The note to which Boutcher refers occurs at line 1041 (*'En la ribera verde y deleytosa/ del sacro Tormes dulce y claro rio'*) of the second eclogue (written in a 1550 edition owned by Yong).⁴³ It occurs at the beginning of a long history of the house of Alba (which included Don Pedro Álvarez de Toledo y Zúñiga (1484-1553), Spanish viceroy of Naples and Garcilaso's chief patron). Fraunce uses line 1147 (the end of the same passage), the moment at which Salicio turns the narrative back to his pastoral scene from the long historical interlude, to demonstrate the unusual rhyme scheme discussed above.⁴⁴ I suggest that, like Fraunce's explanations in *The Arcadian rhetorike*, Yong's annotation corresponds in many ways with Herrera's explanations of Garcilaso's work. By so doing I also observe that Yong's notes indicate that he may have been conscious of both the rhetorical and political significance of the Toledan poet's eclogue.

Yong's note corresponds with Herrera's history of the pastoral genre, which includes an explanation of its origins in the work of Ovid and also a declaration of its

⁴² Boutcher, p. 37.

⁴³ Juan Boscán Almogaver, *Las Obras de Boscan y algunas de Garcilasso de la Vega* (Anvers: Martin Nucio, 1550?), sig. Z3r, British Library C.46.a.23. All further references to Yong's copy are to this volume.

⁴⁴ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. D8r.

relevance to the politically important house of Alba.⁴⁵ Yong returned to England from Spain in the late spring of 1580.⁴⁶ Although it is impossible to establish whether he might have been familiar with Herrera's commentary, Yong could have had access to the edition in Spain or even in England. Yong's annotation in his copy of Garcilaso's works indicates his rhetorical interest in passages identified by Herrera as of political importance, just as – this chapter shows – was true for Fraunce. By analysing Young's notes, I hope to gain a further sense of how rhetorical annotation might signal political awareness and sympathy with Herrera's project. As mentioned above, at line 1041 of Garcilaso's second eclogue Yong writes 'Histo. past.'. Both Yong and Herrera focus on the pastoral credentials of the important family history, and both seem to ignore one of Garcilaso's strongest statements aligning himself with Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1468–1536), Count of Melito and viceroy of Valencia. Herrera's explanation of Garcilaso's dedication is far more detailed than Yong's; he explains that the success of empires is often mirrored by the mastery of the pastoral form by their poets, placing Garcilaso last in a literary genealogy that begins with Himerius and Virgil and ends in Spain.⁴⁷ According to Herrera, after Virgil and Theocritus until Petrarch and Boccaccio there was no pastoral, and Sannazaro represents the Italian climax of the genre. Finally, Herrera characterises Garcilaso as the endpoint of this progression; explaining that Garcilaso's poetry represents the first and best Spanish example of the pastoral, he concludes that Italy has none who can compete with the Spaniard, placing the poet in a position of power parallel to his patron's role as a colonial administrator of Naples.⁴⁸

Recounting a history of the pastoral, Herrera characterises Garcilaso's poetry as part of an artistic tradition inherited from imperial antecedents. Pedro de Media's introduction of Herrera's edition further explains that Garcilaso 'clearly shows how much the strength of an excellent Spanish talent can accomplish and that it is not impossible for

⁴⁵ Herrera, sig. Pp4v-6v. Herrera provides everything from a context for Garcilaso's passage in Virgil to explanatory notes on the House of Alba in this section.

⁴⁶ *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, Volume 14: 1579-1580*, ed. by Arthur John Butler (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office by Mackie and Co. Ltd., 1904), p. 309.

⁴⁷ Herrera, sig. Dd4r-5r: 'Primero, que trató este argumento (como dize Eliano) fue Estesieoro Imereo. llamóse Bucólico este genero de poesia del nombre de los boyeros, que los Latinos apellidan Bubulos [...] que el es mas aventajado genero de pastores [...] porque se tiempla su rusticidad con la pureza de las vozes proprias al estilo, tales Virgilio i G.L. i al contrario Bastista Mantuano, i Juan de la Enzina, infacetissimos escritores de eglogas [...] Calpurnio, si seguimos el parecer de algunos ombres doctos, sera principe desta poesia despues de Virgilio; i tan cercano a el como Virgilio a Teocrito, i mas igual que cervano; pero engañanse en lo uno i lo otro. porque es sin fuerças, floxo, hinchado, i no compuesto. mucho mas castigado es Nemesiano, como siente Escaligero, i mas dino de ser leido [...] mas ni sus [Petrarch's] eglogas, ni las de Bocacio son dinas de memoria. Pontano no quiso dexar esta parte de poesia libre de su ingenio; i assi la tratò, pero no con la felicidad que las otras cosas. ultimamente florecieron Sanazaro, i Geronimo Vida'.

⁴⁸ Herrera, sig. Dd5r: 'En nuestra España sin alguna comparacion, es principe G.L. i de sus eglogas esta primera es aventajada de las otras en todas las partes, que requiere este genero; i no sé si Italia tiene alguna, que pueda venir a paragon con ella'.

[the Spanish] language to reach the height where Greek and Latin are already to be seen'.⁴⁹ Although Italian is important to Herrera's history of pastoral, Richard Helgerson shows that Italian humanists saw the linguistic connection between Latin and their vernacular as an antidote to the continuing humiliation that they suffered as a result of their lost empire rather than foreshadowing another florescence of Rome.⁵⁰ Herrera's inclusion of the work of Petrarch, Boccaccio and Sannazaro thus builds upon a literary consciousness of the imperial implications of vernacular rhetorical success as it traces a trajectory from Rome to modern Spain. If indeed Fraunce used Herrera's edition, he would have been aware that his contemporary saw Garcilaso's verse as emblematic of the imperial inheritance of Spain and its language. However, Fraunce might apply the same analysis to Sidney's *Arcadia*, announcing the trajectory of the English state using his patron's successful pastoral as evidence; later in this chapter I will consider the political implications of Fraunce's memorialisation of his patron and how this created a comparison between English poetic and martial success and that of Spain. Although Yong's note of 'Histo. past.' initially seems merely to synopsis Garcilaso's text, it also might refer to Herrera's annotation, which explains the history of the authors, from classical to contemporary, who contributed to the development of pastoral form and the politics that accompany such an auspicious trajectory. If this were the case, it might signal Yong's awareness of the political relevance of his reading and study of Garcilaso in general.

In another note Yong writes 'Hist. pastor.' and underlines Garcilaso's line '*Acontecio q̃ en una ardiente siesta*'.⁵¹ Here, Garcilaso's Albino describes the evolution of his love in a scene filled with flowers, pastures, and clear brooks. Herrera's comments on the passage explain how the section relates to other contemporary pastorals, particularly the *Arcadia* (presumably of Sannazaro). Yong's note thus again parallels a history of the pastoral genre given by Herrera.⁵² Herrera's annotation also briefly notes the passage's relevance to Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.⁵³ Yong's note thus corresponds to elements of Herrera's

⁴⁹ Helgerson, p. 5; Herrera, sig. A4v: 'Entre los cuales se deve contar primero el ilustre cavallero Garci Lasso de la Vega, principe de los poetas Castellanos; en quien claro se descubrio, quanto puede la fuerça de un ecelente ingenio de España; i que no es imposible a nuestra lengua arribar cerca de la cumbre, donde ya se vieron la Griega i Latina, si nosotros con impiedad no la desamparassemos'.

⁵⁰ Helgerson, p. 10.

⁵¹ Boscán, sig. Y4r; Garcilaso, Eclogue II, ln. 431.

⁵² Although Fraunce does not comment on this passage, his example of *paronomasia*, utilising lines 183-185 of the eclogue, draws upon the same pastoral description.

⁵³ Herrera, sigs. Nn8r-v: 'Ora Salicio) hazelo atento. I vos ó) invocacion. Tambien es de la mesina profa 8. de l' Arcadia toda esta narracion, hasta casi el fin de lo que dize Albano [...]. i en medio) descripcion de la fuente, semejante a la Gargasia, en las transformaciones. Don Diego de Mendoza, Tan mansa, i sossegada cercando iva/ la fuente l' fresco prado, i alameda, / qu'aunque corriese pressurosa, i viva/ a la vista mostrava estar se queda. / el junco agudo, ni la caña esquiva, / ni la óva texcida i buelta en rueda, / estornavan el agua que corriese, / ni el suelo, que en lo hondo no se viesse. / De cespced vivo, d'alta ierva

annotation that place Garcilaso's pastoral within its historic, artistic and political contexts.⁵⁴ Neither Yong's nor Fraunce's comments explicitly indicate anything more than a desire to understand the pastoral genre or the successful use of rhetoric (and indeed, both examples Fraunce takes from Eclogue II contain errors of transcription and are wholly interested in poetic form rather than content). Yet the Englishmen's annotation corresponds with Herrera's concerns as Yong's marginalia note an interest in the 'hist. pastor.' at the very passages at which the Spaniard offers lengthy histories of the form. For Herrera, these moments offer the opportunity to explicate the connection between the evolution of language and empire; could Yong's annotation indicate that he was aware of this reading of the use of the pastoral form, or indeed of Herrera's explanations themselves?

Fraunce's excerption of Garcilaso's poetry does not overtly suggest a concern with the imperialism Herrera implies is inherent in the pastoral form. Yet he echoes Herrera's concern with pastoral in *The sheapheardes logike* (1585?). *The sheapheardes logike* champions Ramist logic and offers examples from *The shepheardes calender* (1579). Like Herrera, Fraunce points to a single poet to demonstrate that the English vernacular is capable of recuperating logic. Fraunce's dedicatory epistle contains an English poem written to Edward Dyer (1543-1607), a close friend of Sidney's, explaining that the pastoral's universalising simplicity allowed it to transcend borders:

But logikes lyght doth shyne owtright, her streames do flow so far
 From kings abroad to Palinode, from sheepecote unto star.
 Noe Reason then why munkish men shuld keepe her from abroad
 Of idle fooles opprest in schooles, and always overtrode.
 By this wee preach, by this wee teach, shee in the heaven sitte
 Yet sheapheards swayne doth not disdayne, but meekly hym admytte.
 That this is true, loe here a new, and fresh Logician,
 Who mynds to prove what is her love? To symple countrey men.
 By those that keepe in fyeld theyr sheepe, a sheapheards logik framde;
 Soe be yt ought, or be yt nought, the lesse cause to bee blamde.⁵⁵

Where Herrera makes Garcilaso an inheritor of the pastoral, Fraunce makes Spenser the champion of logic within the form. Fraunce puts logic at odds with Mediterranean Catholicism by explaining that 'munkish men [...] keepe her from abroad'. Like the purity of Herrera's shepherds, Fraunce's 'symple countrey men' have the potential to found a strong vernacular because they are outside the institutions that might leave them

verde/ se cercava a la margen por de fuera,/ con el bledo immortal, que nunca pierde/ el color en invierno i primavera;/ i con la roxa flor, que nos acuerde/ el caso de jacinto en la ribera,/ con otras flores varias i hermosas,/ suaves iervas i plantas olorosas'.

⁵⁴ At ln. 563 of the second eclogue 'O fiera, dixes, mas que tigre Hircana' Yong writes 'Canto'; Herrera annotates this line in Garcilaso's poetry with an explanation of how the eclogue here draws from a song from Homer. Boutcher, p. 38; Boscán, sig. Y6r; Herrera, sig. Oo3r.

⁵⁵ London, British Library, MS. Add. 34361, f. 2v.

‘overtroade’. Although it is impossible to say whether Fraunce had consulted Herrera when he composed *The sheapheardes logike*, the similarity of the two annotators’ projects, and their shared investigation of the pastoral as a means of improving the vernacular, indicates that, if Fraunce had access to the 1580 edition of the *Obras* in 1585, he may have consulted and been inspired by the Spanish text. The parallels between Fraunce’s rhetorical analysis, Yong’s annotation, and Herrera’s history of the pastoral (and characterisation of Garcilaso’s poetry as a manifestation of Spain’s classical inheritance) indicate that the patriotism of the Spaniard’s project would have resonated with Englishmen who might have consulted his work in 1588.

3. Circulation of Garcilaso’s poetry in early modern Cambridge

Having established the similarities between Fraunce and Herrera’s analysis of Garcilaso, I now wish to consider the question of Fraunce’s access to Spanish texts. At least one copy of Herrera’s annotated edition of Garcilaso circulated amongst Fraunce’s peers at Cambridge, perhaps giving the Englishmen access to the Spaniard’s writing and leading to the compelling similarity between the two rhetoricians’ categorisation of Garcilaso’s rhetorical tropes that I have already demonstrated. Annotations in the Wren Library copy of *Las Obras de Garci Lasso* are reminiscent of Fraunce’s treatment of the Spaniard’s poetry in *The Arcadian rhetorike*. These marginalia appear in what may be the hands of two of Fraunce’s peers at Cambridge in the 1580s. Consistent with the political interest in Spanish that I have already described, the men’s annotation in the volume indicates that if Fraunce used Herrera as a rhetorical guide to Garcilaso’s poems, this would not be unique but rather might have been part of a larger trend in the study of Spanish in Cambridge as the conflict with Spain reached its height.

Fraunce’s preference to quote from Boscán rather than Garcilaso may be indicative of the copies available at Cambridge (and indeed in England) in the 1580s or symptomatic of a local vogue within the university, where most of *The Arcadian rhetorike* was composed.⁵⁶ Maria de la Cinta Zunino Garrido declares that ‘most [Cantabrigians] read and translated Spanish poetry, and, in most cases, were the principal importers of Renaissance Spanish literature in England’.⁵⁷ Zunino Garrido’s identification of the interest in Spanish that existed in sixteenth century Cambridge broadly correlates with my own findings (in my third chapter I will explore a parallel academic interest in Spanish at Oxford). It is difficult,

⁵⁶ Gustav Ungerer, *Anglo-Spanish Literary Relations in Tudor Literature* (Madrid: Artes Graficas Clavileno, 1956), p. 73.

⁵⁷ Maria de la Cinta Zunino Garrido, ‘Boscan and Garcilaso as Rhetorical Models in the English Renaissance: the Case of Abraham Fraunce’s *Arcadian rhetorike*’, *Atlantis*, 2 (2005), 119–134 (p. 121).

however, to substantiate the claim that this interest was widespread, and certainly ‘most’ students may not have read or translated Spanish. Yet Fraunce’s contemporaries and their books may have shaped access to Garcilaso’s poetry amongst a community that was particularly concerned with the use of rhetoric.⁵⁸ Little evidence of the circulation of the works of Garcilaso at either Cambridge or the Inns of Court exists to help trace the source of Fraunce’s Spanish excerpts. At Cambridge, few copies of the works of either Garcilaso or Boscán remain in the college libraries, and the earlier editions of the works of Garcilaso, as edited by Boscán, seem to have reached the university in far greater numbers than those produced later (including that of Herrera).⁵⁹ Yet, as we have seen, the similarities between Herrera’s work and that of Fraunce are difficult to ignore. Although Zunino Garrido identifies some of the similarities between the work of Fraunce and the work of Herrera, she declares that ‘it is not likely that Fraunce had access to his work because it did not enjoy a broad circulation outside of Spain’.⁶⁰ Although the circulation of Herrera’s work was not broad, at least one copy may have made it to Cambridge, probably before the 1590s.⁶¹ This places the similarities between the two texts that I observe within a context in which Fraunce may well have had access to Herrera’s 1580 edition of Garcilaso’s text.

The Wren Library’s copy of *Las Obras de Garci Lasso de la Vega Con Anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera* is heavily annotated by George Fairfax, a student at Trinity from 1583.⁶² Fairfax annotated sections of Garcilaso’s poetry that Fraunce almost simultaneously glossed in *The Arcadian rhetorike*, although his annotation throughout the rest of the work is haphazard at best. Fairfax annotates primarily in Spanish, taking care to underline a description of Garcilaso as ‘best of the Castilian poets’, and explaining in the margin that ‘Francissco [sic] de Herrera studied his elocution in Salamanca’.⁶³ The note expresses a sympathy between Fairfax, a student at Cambridge with an obvious interest in rhetoric, and

⁵⁸ Zunino Garrido offers no further explanation of how the works of Boscán and Garcilaso began to circulate in England although she does imply that Fraunce was introduced to the work of the Spanish poets through other members of his reading circle.

⁵⁹ H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of the Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501–1600 in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 187, 621.

⁶⁰ Zunino Garrido, p. 129.

⁶¹ Cambridge, Trinity College Wren Library, Grylls 10.53. Fernando de Herrera, *Obras de Garci Lasso de la Vega con Anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera* (Seville: Alonso de la Barrera, 1580). All further references to manuscript annotation in ‘Herrera’ refer to this volume.

⁶² John Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: Part I, From the Earliest Times to 1751* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), IV, p. 177. I am thankful to the Wren Library Archives for their detailed knowledge of the provenance of this volume that allowed them to identify Fairfax as the likely owner and annotator of this volume, which is otherwise difficult to substantiate. For the circulation of the works of Garcilaso at Cambridge, see also the inventories of scholars libraries by Elizabeth Leedham-Green.

⁶³ Herrera, sig. H3v: ‘Principe de los poetas Castellanos’; ‘Francissco [sic] de Herrera y su elocucion estdio [sic] en Salamanca’.

Herrera, a student who had undertaken a very similar project to the annotator.⁶⁴ Fairfax's identification of passages in which Herrera classifies Garcilaso as 'best of the poets', shows a recognition of the importance of Herrera's work, the first to focus on Garcilaso's poetry above and beyond that of Boscán.

Another hand marks out those moments when its owner feels Herrera has interfered with the poetry using the phrase 'according to Herrera'.⁶⁵ The second hand may be that of William Vernon, who matriculated at Trinity in 1581 (only a month before Fraunce departed from the university), and whose initials are inscribed in the copy in a sixteenth century hand. The note indicates that, perhaps like Fraunce, the annotator consulted multiple editions of Garcilaso's work, enabling him to identify moments of editorial interference from Herrera. The second hand comments upon different passages; concerned with rhetorical tropes, the annotator pays particular attention to the phrase 'the most vehement of all figures', a passage of Herrera's commentary that, as I show above, may also have caught the attention of Fraunce.⁶⁶ The second annotator is concerned with the level of intensity implied by the invocation of 'O *Dios*', underlining both the passage and Herrera's explanation of its vehemence.

The existence of Fairfax's copy of Herrera's annotations indicates that another scholar in a similar position to Fraunce used the rare Spanish work to understand Garcilaso's poetry. We can infer that he may also have done so. The correlation between the annotations of Fraunce, Fairfax and possibly Vernon might be symptomatic of influence they asserted upon each other, although whether the latter scholars consulted *The Arcadian rhetorike* or the former worked from their edition of Herrera and was guided by their notes is impossible to establish. Yet whether or not these students were aware of each other's studies, the annotation of Garcilaso's work by Englishmen during the 1580s is evidence of what I will identify throughout this thesis as a pattern of turning to Spanish language texts at moments of heightened tension in England's growing conflict with Spain.

4. Fraunce's Memorialisation of Poets

We have seen that Fraunce sympathises with Herrera's rhetorical project. I now wish to consider evidence that *The Arcadian rhetorike* might replicate the Spaniard's political

⁶⁴ Fairfax annotates the first eclogue, from which Fraunce draws several of his examples. He also focuses on identifying elements of the bucolic, labelling various lines '*bucolico*', mirroring Yong's identification of the pastoral in his earlier edition.

⁶⁵ Herrera, throughout: '*Por ser de Herrera*'.

⁶⁶ Herrera, sig. Ee1v.

awareness – and perhaps patriotism – in its analysis of a poet as a national figure. *The Arcadian rhetorike* memorialises Sidney by anthologising his work (something that has not been fully recognised) and by so doing mirrors both the patriotic project of Herrera's *Obras* and those of his contemporaries in England in the 1580s. While memorialisation is a ubiquitous theme of Renaissance poetry, identifying the concordances between *The Arcadian rhetorike* and Fraunce's Spanish sources adds to our understanding of the politics behind his excerption of Sidney.

While a movement in the late 1580s to memorialise Sidney is widely recognised, Fraunce's tract has not previously been understood as a part of it.⁶⁷ Following Sidney's death in the Low Countries, the Earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588) staged an elaborate funeral celebrating his nephew, solidifying both Sidney's reputation as an English hero and the conflict in the Low Countries as a patriotic effort to limit Spanish Catholic expansion.⁶⁸ As Sidney's death became increasingly mythologised it spawned poetry; tribute volumes of verse were produced at the universities and by individuals.⁶⁹ Fraunce contributes to the genre with his translation of *The lamentations of Amintas for the death of Phillis* (1588), which I will return to when I examine works sold in the shop of Thomas Gubbin and Thomas Newman alongside *The Arcadian rhetorike*. Fraunce's guide represents the first effort to memorialise Sidney and the aggressive Protestant foreign policy for which he came to stand with an edition or anthology of the poet's work. By considering this similarity between the work of Fraunce and Herrera, I hope to further illuminate the intricate political implications of *The Arcadian rhetorike*.⁷⁰

The timing of the publication of *The Arcadian rhetorike*, its title, and its prominent inclusion of excerpts from Sidney's writing suggest that it is part of the body of work produced for the purpose of memorialising Fraunce's patron, endowing it with the political charge of these works, even though it is entirely concerned with explanation of linguistic

⁶⁷ *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend*, ed. by J.A. van Dorsten, Arthur F. Kinney and Dominic Baker-Smith (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1986).

⁶⁸ Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), p. 3.

⁶⁹ See: *Academiae Cantabrigiensis lachrymae*, ed. by Alexander Neville (Londini: Joannis Windet impensis Thomae Chardi, 1587), STC (2nd ed.) 4473; *Exequiae illustrissimi equitis, D. Philippi Sidnaei*, ed. by Guilielmus Gagerus (Oxonii: Josephi Barnesii, 1587), STC (2nd ed.) 22551; *Peplus. Illustrissimi viri D. Philippi Sidnaei supremis honoribus dicatus*, ed. by John Lloyd (Oxonii: Iosephus Barnesius, 1587), STC (2nd ed.) 22552; Angel Day, *Upon the life and death of the most worthy, and thrise renowned knight, Sir Phillip Sidney* (London: Robert Walde-grave, 1586), STC (2nd ed.) 6409; John Phillips, *The life and death of Sir Phillip Sidney, late lord gouvernour of Flushing* (London: Robert Walde-grave, 1587), STC (2nd ed.) 19871; Thomas Churchyard, *The epitaph of Sir Phillip Sidney Knight, lately Lord Governour of Flosbing* (London: George Robinson, for Thomas Cadman, 1586), STC (2nd ed.) 5228; George Whetstone, *Sir Phillip Sidney, his honorable life, his valiant death, and true vertues* (London: T. Orwin for Thomas Cadman, 1587), STC (2nd ed.) 25349.

⁷⁰ Thomas Watson, *The lamentations of Amintas for the death of Phillis*, trans. by Abraham Fraunce (London: John Wolfe, 1587), STC (2nd ed.) 25118.4.

artistry. Its dedication characterises Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (1561-1621) as Sidney's chief mourner, calling her a 'pious nymph' who lamented the death of her brother, invoking the pastoral imagery that was typical of Fraunce's late patron's work.⁷¹ The first line makes it clear that one of the projects of Fraunce's rhetorical manual is to mourn Sidney with the Countess. However, the work is more complex than this; its brief dedicatory note passes between languages fluently, tying multilingualism to the work's task of mourning. Fraunce lists most of the poets whose work he includes in his collection, identifying them with their respective countries in a manner that simultaneously establishes the trans-European scope of his project and makes each poet's nationality his defining feature:

*Voi, pia nymphe, tuum, quem tolse la morte, Philippū,
 AEdentem llenas caelesti melle palabras.
 Italicum lumen, flowre of Fraunce, splendor Iberus,
 Italicus Tasso, French Salust, Boscan Iberus [...]*⁷²

Fraunce's work uses poets and languages as metonyms for states. His choice to include excerpts that sample poetry from a range of countries implicitly suggests the importance of having examples of each vernacular, rather than merely compiling the best rhetoricians regardless of their language, making this an exercise in comparative linguistics as well as a best-practice guide to rhetoric. This makes geopolitical identities as important to Fraunce as rhetoric itself, hinting that his guide might be concerned with understanding states alongside vernaculars through analysis of poetic style and characterising Sidney as a representative of England. The dedicatory verse thus immediately champions Sidney as a lost English asset, as important to England as other poets invoked in *The Arcadian rhetorike* are to their countries.

In the dedication of *The Arcadian rhetorike* Fraunce describes Sidney's poetry (in Latin and Spanish) as 'words of heavenly honey', and then lists: 'The Light of Italy, the Flower of France, the Splendour of Spain/ Italian Tasso, French Salust, Spanish Boscán'.⁷³ Although this series of metaphors characterises literary authors as national assets, it does so in a manner that seems conscious of developing geo-political rivalries and military threats, borrowing imagery from this discourse. In *The firste parte of Churchyardes chippes contayning twelve severall labours* (1575), for instance, Thomas Churchyard (another eulogiser of Sidney)

⁷¹ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. A1v. In reality Robert Sidney had served as chief mourner, while, as was customary, Mary Sidney did not attend the funeral.

⁷² Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. A1v.

⁷³ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. A1v: 'Coelesti melle palabras'.

uses ‘flower of France’ recurrently in a military context.⁷⁴ Churchyard invokes the phrase again in his *A lamentable, and pitifull description, of the wofull warres in Flaunders* (1578) to describe the French forces against ‘a mightie armye, beséeged Meatz in Lorraine, in whyche Towne was a greate number of the floure of Fraunce placed’.⁷⁵ Both of Churchyard’s works advocate English intervention in the Low Countries in part by recounting how French troops, the flower of France, were oft overcome by invading forces. Fraunce’s identification of Saluste du Bartas as ‘the floure of Fraunce’ parallels Churchyard’s treatment of the French military, creating the sense that both the poet and the army might serve patriotic interests. The vernacular is made all the more central to the association as Fraunce aberrantly uses English to describe du Bartas in parallel to the Latin used to describe Tasso and Boscán. Helgerson explains that Herrera and Pedro de Media (who introduces the 1580 edition of *Las Obras*) conceptualise ‘Garcilaso as a great poet of empire, a poet whose reform of Spanish verse served the same ends as his military and political employment’.⁷⁶ Fraunce’s focus on the status of poets as representatives of their countries thus corresponds with Herrera’s treatment of Garcilaso and furthers the sense that the loss of Sidney constitutes not just the loss of a poet but an English national asset.

Fraunce describes rhetoric as composed of ‘two parts, Eloquution and Pronuntiation’; elocution includes ‘Congruitie and Braverie’.⁷⁷ For Fraunce ‘braverie of speach consisteth in ‘Tropes’, which he defines as ‘turnings; and in Figures or fashionings’.⁷⁸ Fraunce’s term, ‘braverie of speech’, was not a common phrase in English at the end of the sixteenth century, and is evidence of the extent to which his understanding of English rhetoric is indebted to Sidney (already evident in the many examples from Sidney that form the basis of *The Arcadian rhetorique*); one of the few occurrences of the idea of ‘braveries of speech’ before 1588 is in the *Arcadia*, in which Sidney describes effective rhetorical oratory:

When Zelmane began her speech, the excellency of her beautie, and grace, made him a little content to heare [...]. But when shee entered into braverie of speech, hee thought at first, a mad, and railing humor possest her; till, finding the speeches hold well together, and at length come to flatte challenge of combat; hee stoode

⁷⁴ Thomas Churchyard, *The firste parte of Churchyardes chippes contayning twelve severall labours* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1575), sigs. B3r, B4v, STC (2nd ed.) 5232: ‘First give me leave, our Souldiours to aduance/ That with their blud, their countries rest have brought/ Next how they servd, against the flower of Fraunce’ and ‘By this our fame, is lifted suche an height/ That every wight, that throwly wayes this chaunce/ Shall saye we strove, against the flower of Fraunce’.

⁷⁵ Thomas Churchyard, *A Lamentable, and pitifull Description of the wofull warres in Flaunders, since the foure last yeares of the Emperour Charles the fifth his raigne* (London: Ralph Newberie, 1578), sig. C2v, STC (2nd ed.) 5239.

⁷⁶ Helgerson, p. 6.

⁷⁷ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorique*, sig. A2v.

⁷⁸ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorique*, sig. A3v.

[...] beyonde marvell maruailing, that hee, who had never heard such speeches from any Knight, shoulde be thus rebuffed by a woman[...].⁷⁹

While other critics have cited Zelmane as an example of an early modern rhetorician, the impact that this character's role as an orator had on Fraunce has gone unexplored.⁸⁰

Fraunce uses about 80 quotations from the then unpublished *Arcadia* in *The Arcadian rhetorike*, so it is not surprising that he turns to Sidney for his description of elocution. The political importance of the vernacular, which Fraunce's manual explores, is manifest as Zelmane's oratory and linguistic 'braveries', or aggression, become apparent and lead to her identification with the behaviour of a knight. Although Fraunce does not overtly address the conflict with Spain, his sympathy with both Herrera's rhetorical analysis and his timely response to Sidney, established above, indicate that Fraunce was conscious of the importance of his study of vernacular language to its political moment.

5. *The Task of a Rhetorician*

The Arcadian rhetorike pays particularly close attention to the four introductory stanzas of Eclogue I addressing Pedro Álvarez de Toledo, Marquis of Villafranca (1484-1553), one of the most powerful figures of Spanish colonial efforts at the beginning of the sixteenth century. By so doing, it closely considers Garcilaso's assessment of the political role of the poet, adding to the sense that Fraunce may have been conscious of the role of *The Arcadian rhetorike* as a commemoration of Sidney. Herrera explicates these passages in a manner similar to Fraunce, but the particular attention the Englishman pays to these dedicatory stanzas may offer important insights into the political nature of Fraunce's excerption of Sidney. Fraunce's quotation and explanation of Eclogue I is further evidence of his interest in a pervasive theme of Renaissance poetry: memorialisation. Understanding the context within which Fraunce excerpts portions of Eclogue I, a martial and patriotic dedication to Toledo, highlights a parallel between this source and *The Arcadian rhetorike's* own memorialisation of Sidney. I thus suggest that while *The Arcadian rhetorike* was in some ways typical of the rhetorical analysis produced at the end of the sixteenth century in its seemingly single-minded effort to identify and analyse tropes, in fact it also capitalises on the political currency of Sidney's reputation at a moment when his memory was made

⁷⁹ Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London: William Ponsonbie, 1593), sig. Ee5r, STC (2nd ed.) 22539a.

⁸⁰ Arthur F. Kinney links Fraunce and Zelmane in passing. Kinney asks whether Fraunce, Hoskins and Zelmane shared 'the eloquence of amazement' because of a 'long methodized [sic] oration', only to conclude that these two men both 'discovered [...] the lasting power of the *Arcadia* is its power to persuade'. Arthur F. Kinney, *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), p. 274; P. Albert Duhamel, 'Sidney's "Arcadia" and Elizabethan Rhetoric', *Studies in Philology*, 45 (1948), 134–150 (p. 149).

particularly poignant due to the intensification of the Anglo-Spanish conflict. In this it echoes Garcilaso's imperialist dedication to Toledo, and combines two prominent themes of Renaissance literature, memorialisation and rhetorical analysis.

Although the passage Fraunce quotes from Garcilaso to exemplify '*Metonymia* of the cause' is used only as an example of the trope, it reveals a close consideration of the role of poetry in acknowledging, celebrating, and perhaps even solidifying political and military success. Fraunce's excerpt implores:

Please wait, for when my absent
leisure is restored to me
and I have the time for it,
you will see how immediately my pen
takes up the task of listing the infinite
number of your virtues and your exploits, &c.⁸¹

Addressed to Pedro de Toledo, the apologetic tone of Garcilaso's poem as it excuses the incomplete verse implies that the poet is held accountable for 'listing the infinite/ number of [his patron's] exploits'.⁸² Toledo solidified the Spanish occupation of Naples, enabling Iberian colonial efforts on the Italian Peninsula to take root.⁸³ Garcilaso's offer to memorialise his patron thus makes a strong political statement in support of Spanish imperialism even before the addition of Herrera's nationalist commentary. In the 1580 edition, Herrera explains that the eclogue is dedicated to Toledo, who is identified as 'Marques de Villafranca and Viceroy of Napoles', making the political implications of Garcilaso's opening lines explicit even to those who might not be aware of the recipient of the eclogue.⁸⁴ Fraunce and Herrera both use Eclogue I to exemplify types of literary substitution; the former defines metonymy and the latter gives an explanation of the allusions in the text. While there is a similarity between Fraunce and Herrera's treatment of the passage, for my argument, the sympathy between Fraunce's and Garcilaso's memorialisations of important political figures takes precedence here. Fraunce defines *metonymia* as 'when the matter is put for the thing thereof made'; in this passage Fraunce

⁸¹ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. A4v: 'Espera que en tornando,/ A ser restituido,/ Al ocio ya perdido,/ Luego veras exercitar mi pluma,/ Por la innumerable suma,/ De tus virtudes y famosas obras, &c'. Herrera does not omit 'infinita' in line 25 as Fraunce does. Herrera, sig. Cc1v; Garcilaso, Eclogue I, lns. 21-26; Translation from: Dent-Young, p. 122.

⁸² Dent-Young, pp. 7-8.

⁸³ Henry Kamen, *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale, 2008), p. 53.

⁸⁴ Herrera, sig. Dd5r. Herrera explains, having given a history of the pastoral, that Garcilaso is the height of the contemporary use of the form and concludes: 'La cual se compone de odas, elegias, i otras partes liricas i coros de tragedias, i es felicemente imitada de las de Virgilio, i dirigida a don Pedro de Toledo marques de Villa Franca i virrei de Napoles. es de doblado titulo, i se introduzen en ellas dos pastores, uno celoso, que se quexa por ver a otro preferido en su amor, este se llama Salicio; i es ya comun opinion que se entiende por G.L. mesmo'.

intends to examine the substitution of the ‘pen’ for the poet.⁸⁵ The passage apologises for the slowness of the ‘pen’ in celebrating the political and martial achievements of Toledo. Thus the metonym defines the political obligations of the poet to recount the achievements of the state and its leaders (for, although Garcilaso’s ‘duty’ stems from the patronage of Pedro de Toledo, he characterises it as due to a need to repay the ‘debt of all the world’ owed for the viceroy’s fame, glory and good leadership of Spanish imperial efforts).⁸⁶ Fraunce’s interest in Garcilaso’s metonym, which defines the political role of the poet as a memorialiser of state heroes, may have relevance to his own excerpt of Sidney. This is made particularly evident as both Fraunce and Herrera focus on the power of substitution and so explicate the broader meaning of Garcilaso’s apology. The introductory stanza from which Fraunce excerpts this example describes Pedro de Toledo’s dominance over affairs both of state and nature, all elements of his patron’s life that Garcilaso documents with his metonymic ‘pen’ and all of which gain greater significance when read through Herrera’s imperialist explanation of the allegory. By excerpting this passage Fraunce invites his reader to question what is the duty of the poet and to consider whether this is fulfilled by Fraunce’s focus on his own patron, Sidney.

Immediately following this first excerpt from Garcilaso is a second, also invoked to demonstrate *metonymia*, taken from the second stanza of the first eclogue: ‘the branch of victory/ that is so firmly bound/ about your glorious brow’.⁸⁷ From a passage immediately above Fraunce’s first excerpt, this is also part of the dedication to Pedro de Toledo.⁸⁸ In this stanza Toledo is presented as a soldier; Garcilaso says Toledo ‘through [his] deeds [has] earned/a worldwide reputation’ (due in part, presumably, to the verse celebrating his military prowess) and that he may be found:

resplendent in [his] armour,
taking the warlike role of Mars on earth,
or if, finding [himself] free from tedious cares
and troublesome affairs of state, perhaps
[he will go] hunting.⁸⁹

Toledo is portrayed in exclusively martial terms in the stanza, although in reality he served mostly as a governor in court, a bureaucrat rather than a warrior. Fraunce identifies this use

⁸⁵ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. A4r.

⁸⁶ Dent-Young, p. 123. Garcilaso, Eclogue I, ln. 32.

⁸⁷ Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. B7r: ‘El arbol de victoria,/ que cinne estrechamente/ tu gloriosa frente?’ Garcilaso, Eclogue I, lns. 35-37. Translation from: Dent-Young, p. 123.

⁸⁸ The passage continues: ‘Tu fama y a tu gloria/ que es deuda general, no solo mia,/ mas de qualquier ingenio peregrino/ que celebra lo digno de memoria’. Garcilaso, Eclogue I, lns. 31-34.

⁸⁹ Dent-Young, p. 122. Garcilaso, Eclogue I, lns. 7-9, 13-17.

of ‘branch of victory’ as a metonym substituted for ‘success’.⁹⁰ Fraunce’s focus upon the few stanzas that celebrate Pedro de Toledo as a military and imperial leader indicate his awareness that Garcilaso uses poetry to celebrate, and perhaps advance, the imperial success of Spain. Herrera offers a detailed explanation of the trope, providing similar examples to the invocation of the ‘branch of victory’ in the work of Petrarch and Ovid; his explanation of the trope both champions a current Spanish colonial leader and makes Spain heir to Rome through the imperial potential of its language, increasing the political resonance of the excerpt. Garcilaso memorialises his patron in both quotations from Eclogue I included in *The Arcadian rhetorike*, emphasising the ‘worldwide reputation’ produced both by his military success and, tacitly, by his own poetry. I argue that although it ostensibly focuses only on rhetorical tropes, memorialisation is an important part of Fraunce’s political project in *The Arcadian rhetorike*. Garcilaso’s poetic memorialisation of Toledo, and, more saliently, Herrera’s political analysis of Garcilaso’s rhetoric, parallel - and perhaps inform - Fraunce’s timely compilation of texts from Sidney. In the final section of this chapter I will examine works produced by the booksellers and printers of *The Arcadian rhetorike* to show that Fraunce’s concern over the political role of the vernacular should be understood in the light of a trend for publishing works that consider the threat posed by the Spanish language in the context of the Armada in 1588.

6. Propaganda Produced in 1588 at Thomas Orwin’s Press

New to printing in 1587, Thomas Orwin, who produced *The Arcadian rhetorike*, created a range of material exploring the conflict with Spain in 1588, probably because he found a good market for these works.⁹¹ A survey of texts printed by Orwin indicates the extent of his response to the threat posed by the Spanish Armada. *A Treatise of the principles of Christ his doctrine, and the principles of Antichristes doctrine with a comparison betweene these two governments* places the ‘Church of Christ’ (in this case, England) in relief against the ‘Church of Rome’, highlighting the geographic and theological differences between England and the Catholic Mediterranean.⁹² François de la Noue’s *Discours politiques et militaires*, printed by Orwin in 1588, describes how ‘Spaine [...] sucketh the golden paps of both the Indies’,

⁹⁰ Herrera rather categorises it as *periphrasis*. Fraunce, *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sig. A4v; Herrera, sig. Dd5v.

⁹¹ Philip R. Rider, *A Chronological Index to the Revised Edition of the Pollard and Redgrave Short-Title Catalogue* (De Kalb: P.R. Rider, 1976), p. 131. Orwin printed both Catholic and Protestant works alike, so his production of pamphlets exploring the Armada does not seem to reflect his personal religious views.

⁹² *Treatise of the principles of Christ his doctrine, and the principles of Antichristes doctrine with a comparison betweene these two governments* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588), STC (2nd ed.) 14573.5.

differentiating the imperialism of Philip II from Italy and France.⁹³ *An oration militaire to all naturall Englishmen, whether Protestants, or otherwise in religion affected* (1588), printed by Orwin, addresses its 'Worthy Countrymen, whose predecessors were not onely feared in Europe, but famous through all the discovered partes of the Earth' and so harkens to an auspicious past and characterises England as a once and future world power.⁹⁴ These responses to Spanish imperialism, apparently triggered by the Armada, appear in the same summer as Fraunce's *Arcadian rhetorike* and in many ways pursue projects in sympathy with his rhetorical guide as they compare England and other states in Europe. They indicate that the altercation between England and Spain that occurred in the English Channel in the summer of 1588 led to many comparisons of the two countries' histories, religions and monarchs. In this final section of this chapter I will show that the political tensions that existed after the Armada also led some authors to examine Spain's language as they consider the various obstacles to English security at home and supremacy in the Atlantic. The production of *The Arcadian rhetorike* at the same moment as this sudden profusion of propaganda from Orwin's press places Fraunce's study, and perhaps his particular inclusion of Spanish, in a new light, making it part of a collection of works printed by Orwin that eagerly analyse England's relationship with Europe by juxtaposing it with its peers.

Immediately following the attack of the Armada, on 31 August (about a month and a half after *The Arcadian rhetorike* appeared in print), Orwin entered Thomas Deloney's *A new ballet of the straunge and most cruell whippes which the Spanyards had prepared to whippe and torment English men and women* (1588) in the Stationers' Register.⁹⁵ Deloney's fear-mongering ballad, which is accompanied by an engraving of two whips, is overtly anti-Spain and anti-Spaniards. The ballad provides a detailed description of the Spanish whips, which it describes both in shape and application. Deloney then explains that this corresponds with Spanish practice 'in India', tying cruelty particularly to colonialism.⁹⁶ Unexpectedly, but importantly for the main argument of this chapter, Deloney then refocuses on the question of language. While the ballad does not advocate for the imitation of Spanish poetic techniques in the manner I have identified in Fraunce's work, it raises the concern that the Hispanic vernacular is part of an imperial inheritance of Spain and that it may be a tool of

⁹³ François de La Noue, *Discours politiques et militaires du Seigneur de la Noue* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588), sig. G8v.

⁹⁴ *An oration militaire to all naturall Englishmen, whether Protestants, or otherwise in religion affected, to move resolution in these dangerous times wherein is expressed the delight of libertie, and the tyrannie of the enemy* (London: Thomas Orwin and Thomas Cadman, 1588), sig. A2r, STC (2nd ed.) 18836.5.

⁹⁵ Thomas Deloney, *A new ballet of the straunge and most cruell whippes which the Spanyards had prepared to whippe and torment English men and women* (London: Thomas Orwin and Thomas Gubbin, 1588), STC (2nd ed.) 6558; Arber, p. 232b.

⁹⁶ Deloney, ln. 89.

Iberian expansion. Juxtaposing Spanish imperialism with ‘*Romans* in this land’, Deloney implies that the threat posed to England by the ancient empire was the same as that levied by the contemporary:

The good Queene *Voadicia*,
and eke her daughters three;
Did they not first abuse them all
by lust and lecherie:
And after stript them naked all,
and whipt them in such sorte:
That it would grieve each Christian heart
to heare that just reporte.

And if these ruffling mates of *Rome*
did Princes thus torment:
Think you the *Romish Spanyards* now
would not shewe their desent.
How did they late in *Rome* rejoyce,
in *Italie* and *Spayne*.
What ringing and what Bonfires,
what Masses sung amaine.

What printed Bookes were sent about,
as filled their desire:
How *England* was by *Spanyards* wonne
and *London* set on fire.
Be these the men that are so milde,
whom some so holie call:
The Lord defend our noble Queene
and Countrie from them all.⁹⁷

The phrase ‘Romish Spanyards’ conveys both the Catholicism and classical heritage of Spain; the use of this phrase immediately after the ‘mates of Rome’ that colonised England and tortured Voadicia, or Boudicca (d. AD 60/61), establishes a trajectory from Roman cruelty to Papal oppression. In the same passage Elizabeth is aligned with Boudicca, the last Queen of England that overcame a colonising force. Thus, Deloney ties the English victory over the Armada to a history he describes of overcoming Rome. Just as his warning about Spain’s imperial intention is based on its Roman past, so the English victory is foreshadowed by an ancestral overthrow of Rome. Deloney’s ballad concludes by enumerating the celebrations in ‘Rome [...] / In Italie and Spayne’, apparently in response to reports of the success of the Armada. The final stanza describes the ‘printed Bookes’

⁹⁷ Deloney, lns. 89-138.

that Deloney fears circulate in Spain, erroneously depicting the sack of London. The importance of these Spanish slanders is conveyed by their position at the end of the ballad; Deloney finds the idea of Spanish propaganda reporting their victory (which is pointedly shared with Rome) the most unacceptable of the offenses that he enumerates. But why is printed propaganda the climax of a pamphlet otherwise focused on physical abuse? What power did Deloney attribute to language that made these ‘Bookes’ so offensive? By examining rhetorical manuals produced by Orwin alongside the propaganda he printed after the Armada I hope to move towards an understanding of the perceived power of the Spanish vernacular in England in 1588, contextualising Deloney’s final stanza and thus furthering our understanding of Fraunce’s use of Garcilaso.

Alongside *The Arcadian rhetorike* Orwin printed George Puttenham’s (1529–1590) *The arte of English poesie* (1589; entered in the Stationers’ Register on 9 November 1588).⁹⁸ Puttenham explores the link between a strong vernacular and a strong state, a concern I have already suggested underpins *The Arcadian rhetorike*. Both rhetorical manuals, I would argue, constitute part of the printed response to the Armada produced by Orwin in 1588. *The arte of English poesie* develops a theory of vernacular poetics, driven by a desire to improve the English language itself. Puttenham endorses *The Arcadian rhetorike*’s methodology and explains that by comparing examples it is possible to develop better practices. In an extension of his description of *parabola* Puttenham explains:

if in matter of counsell or perswasion we will seeme to liken one case to another, such as passe ordinarily in mans affaires, and doe compare the past with the present, gathering probabilitie of like successe to come in the things wee have presently in hand: or if ye will draw the judgements precedent and authorized by antiquitie as veritable, and peradventure fayned and imagined for some purpose, into similitude or dissimilitude with our present actions and affaires, it is called resemblance by example: as if one should say thus, *Alexander* the great in his expedition to Asia did thus, so did *Hanniball* comming into Spaine, so did *Caesar* in Egypt, therefore all great Captains & Generals ought to doe it.⁹⁹

Although there is no evidence that Puttenham was familiar with Herrera’s annotations or Garcilaso’s poetry, the Spanish edition exemplifies the practice for which Puttenham advocates as he ‘compares the past with the present’, pairing Garcilaso’s effective pastoral with the spread of the Spanish vernacular to forecast the success of Spain’s colonial expansion. The impulse to combine rhetorical and political analysis leads Puttenham to

⁹⁸ Edward Arber, *List Based on the Registers of the Stationers Company*, 4 vols (Birmingham: E. Arber, 1890), II, p. 236b; George Puttenham, *The arte of English poesie* (London: R. Field, 1589), STC (2nd ed.) 20519.5.

⁹⁹ Puttenham, sig. Ee1r.

justify England's presence in the Low Countries by comparing its actions to those of its neighbours as part of a description of persuasion:

It hath bene alwayes usuall among great and magnanimous princes in all ages, not only to repulse any injury & invasion from their owne realmes and dominions, but also with a charitable & Princely compassion to defend their good neighbors Princes and Potentats, from all oppression of tyrants & usurpers. So did the Romaines by their armes restore many Kings of Asia and Affricke expulsed out of their kingdoms. So did K. *Edward* 1. restabish *Baliol* rightfull owner of the crowne of Scotland against *Robert le brus* no lawfull King. So did king *Edward* the third aide *Dampeeter* king of Spaine against *Henry* bastard and usurper. So have many English Princes holpen with their forces the poore Dukes of Britaine their ancient friends and allies, against the outrages of the French kings: and why may not the Queene our soveraine Lady with like honor and godly zeale yeld protection to the people of the Low countries, her neerest neighbours to rescue them a free people from the Spanish servitude.¹⁰⁰

Puttenham thus compares Elizabeth with 'the Romaines [who] by their armes restore many Kings of Asia and Affricke expulsed out of their kingdoms', unexpectedly developing an image of an England that is itself an heir of Rome and characterising an aggressive foreign policy as the Queen's natural and virtuous prerogative. In so doing he describes an historic English alliance in which Spain is weak and dependent. Just as Fraunce excerpts Latin poetry, Puttenham begins with a Roman example, amalgamating classical and near-contemporary instances of effective nation-building, all as part of a rhetorical analysis of modes of persuasion. In this way they mirror Herrera and imply an English counter-trajectory towards empire that usurps the position that Spanish writers would claim for themselves.

Less than one month before the *Arcadian rhetorike*, *The lawiers logike* was entered in the Stationers' Register, also attributed to Fraunce.¹⁰¹ The omission of Spanish from this work, which also anthologises excerpts of contemporary and classical texts, offers further circumstantial evidence that the rising tension of the summer of 1588 in part motivates the inclusion of Boscán's and Garcilaso's poetry in *The Arcadian rhetorike*. The dedication and instructions of *The lawiers logike* compel the reader to:

Reade *Homer*, reade *Demosthenes*, reade *Virgill*, read *Cicero*, reade *Bartas*, reade *Torquato Tasso*, reade that most worthie ornament of our English tongue the *Countesse of*

¹⁰⁰ Puttenham, sig. Ee1r.

¹⁰¹ Arber, p. 229b.

Penbrookes Arcadia, and therein see the true effectes of natural Logike which is the ground of artificiall.¹⁰²

The failure to include any Spanish poets in this list leaves *The lawiers logike* internationally engaged but disconnected from a political question that would perhaps only become urgent a few weeks after it went to press, the relationship between England and Spain. Fraunce explains that he tailored the work to his new situation at the Inns of Court, which might explain the lack of Spanish examples (it not being a language that was particularly relevant to that setting); however, he further specifies that ‘because many love Logike, that never learne Lawe, [he] retheyned those ould examples of the new Shepheards Kalender, which [he] first gathered [as a student in Cambridge], and thereunto added thease also out of our Law bookes, which [he] lately collected’.¹⁰³ The implication, therefore, is that Spanish did not figure prominently in Fraunce’s study until after he collected the examples that make up *The lawiers logike*. Is it possible that Fraunce updated *The Arcadian rhetorike*, therefore, to fit the new political situation that emerged over the summer of 1588?¹⁰⁴ It is difficult to prove that Fraunce added his excerpts from Boscán and Garcilaso to *The Arcadian rhetorike* after *The lawiers logike* had already gone to press, yet while Fraunce’s treatment of the Spanish verse and his striking sympathy with Herrera’s rhetorical explanations are not overtly political, they make Fraunce’s otherwise academic study relevant to the sudden expansion and localisation of the Anglo-Spanish conflict that occurred in the summer of 1588, suggesting that the work forms part of a printing trend that sought to capitalise on the interest in Spain generated by the events of the Armada just as Deloney’s ballad or aspects of Puttenham’s *The arte of English poesie* seem to do.

Orwin worked with the interest of a specific set of booksellers in mind when he produced *The Arcadian rhetorike*. In 1588 Thomas Gubbin and T. Newman, whose shop sold *The Arcadian rhetorike*, sold three iterations of *The lawiers logike*, printed by William How. Gubbin and Newman also sold *The lamentations of Amintas for the death of Phillis* printed by John Charlewood, Fraunce’s translation mourning Sidney. Gubbin and Newman also sold Orwin’s printing of James Aske’s *Elizabetha triumphans Conteyning the dammed practizes, that the divelish popes of Rome have used ever sithence her Highnesse first comming to the Crown...and of the overthrow had against the Spanish fleete* (1588), a work that explicitly considers the evolving

¹⁰² Fraunce, *The lawiers logike*, sig. B3v.

¹⁰³ Fraunce, *The lawiers logike*, sig. Q1v.

¹⁰⁴ Fraunce, *The lawiers logike*, sig. Q1r: ‘There bee almost seaven yeares now overgone mee, since first I began to be a medler with these Logically meditations: And whilst I have said and unsaid, doone and undoone, and now doone all a new, mee thinkes these seaven yeares haue quickly overgone mee’.

conflict between England and Spain.¹⁰⁵ The latter offers an example of the English use, and understanding, of the Spanish language in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Among Elizabeth's virtues, second only to her virginity, the book enumerates her prowess with languages. Aske explains:

A maiden Queene, and yet of courage stout,
Through *Wisedome*, rare, for *Learning*, passing all,
Her mother toong is not her only speach,
For *Spanish*, *Greeke*, *Italian*, and *French*,
With *Romans* toong, she understands and speakes [...]¹⁰⁶

Aske thus values Elizabeth's knowledge, particularly her mastery of foreign vernaculars and classical languages, above even her beauty. Before all her other linguistic credentials, he notes that Elizabeth speaks Spanish, implying the importance of that vernacular to the pamphlet considering England's relationship with papal power and the recent conflict with the Armada. Latin is characterised as the 'Romans toong', tying the classical language to empire. Although *The Arcadian rhetorique's* title page attributes it only to Thomas Orwin's printing press, it is registered to Gubbin and Newman.¹⁰⁷ *The Arcadian rhetorique* can thus be seen as part of a movement to consider the relationship between England and other countries in Europe through comparison of vernacular languages; my examination of other works sold by Gubbin and Newman and those printed by Orwin bear witness to this phenomenon in 1588. This chapter demonstrates Fraunce's sympathy with both Herrera's identification of certain rhetorical tropes in the work of Garcilaso and perhaps also the political importance he assigns to poetry. My study of Orwin's output during this period likewise indicates that these concerns may have been typical of an English anxiety regarding not only the Spanish navy but the Spanish language in 1588.

Conclusion

The Arcadian rhetorique was entered in the Stationers' Register less than a month before the English thwarted the invasion of the Spanish Armada.¹⁰⁸ Its use of Spanish language examples, and particularly the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega, reflects an awareness of this political moment and, specifically, the contemporary problem of Spain. By Christmas Eve

¹⁰⁵ James Aske, *Elizabetha triumphans* (London: Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Gubbin, and Thomas Newman, 1588), STC (2nd ed.) 847.

¹⁰⁶ Aske, sig. B1r.

¹⁰⁷ Arber, p. 229b.

¹⁰⁸ Arber, pp. 229a-b.

1587 the Armada had set sail from Spain.¹⁰⁹ By the early summer of 1588 the English were acutely aware of the threat of an invading force from Spain; as early as January 1588 many prominent diplomats had expressed their staunch belief that the Armada might arrive in England imminently.¹¹⁰ Although he would have had access to little specific or accurate information, it is well within the realm of possibility that Thomas Orwin printed *The Arcadian rhetorike* at a moment he believed to be of particular importance in the escalating conflict. The Stationers' Register records *The Arcadian rhetorike* on 11 June 1588, the same day as *A discourse of the overthrowe given to the popes Catholikes* was entered to Edward Aggas.¹¹¹ This pair of texts marks the beginning of a summer that filled London's bookshops with anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish propaganda, texts that reflect the modulations of the English fear of their country's foremost enemy. Between June and September at least 22 patriotic tracts were recorded with titles such as: *A Dyttie of encoragement to English men to be bold to fight in Defence of prince and cuntrey*; *The begynnye and endynge of all popery and popish kingdom*; *A godlie prayer, for the preservation of the quenes majestie, and for her Armyes bothe by Sea and lande against the Enymies of the churche and this Realme of England*; *A ballad of the most happie Victory obtained over the Spaniardes and their overthrowe in July last 1588*; and, perhaps most damningly, *A ballade of the strange whippes which the Spanyardes had prepared [for] the Englishmen and women*.¹¹² *The Arcadian rhetorike* differs from such contemporary propaganda. Yet as a manual designed to foster the development of English vernacular rhetoric, it necessarily considers the importance of a national language to England's place in Europe. It thus also shares something with these contemporary publications. Fraunce's excerpts from Spanish poetry, and particularly the work of Garcilaso, provide evidence that he reacts to – and covertly comments upon – the threat of the looming Armada. In so doing he fashions the role of the rhetorician and poet as a commemorator of heroism and a mediator of the imperialism of Spanish and the threat posed by vernacular languages in war-time.

¹⁰⁹ Mía J. Rodríguez-Salgado, *Armada 1588–1988* (London: Penguin in association with the National Maritime Museum, 1988), p. 27.

¹¹⁰ De Lamar Jensen, 'The Spanish Armada: the Worst-Kept Secret in Europe', *The Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 19 (1988), 621–641 (p. 622).

¹¹¹ Arber, p. 229b.

¹¹² One of the few works entered in the stationers' register in the summer of 1588 that was not overtly in reaction to the Armada was Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* to William Ponsonby on 23 August. Arber, pp. 230–233.

Chapter II:
Gabriel Harvey's Studies of Precedents for the English
Vernacular and Military Strategy

Gabriel Harvey's (1545–1630) prose, scholarly annotations and quantitative verse show that he used a variety of historical texts, military treatises and poetry to understand England's relationship with Europe during the last two decades of the sixteenth century. In particular, Harvey sought to understand Spain, with whom England's relationship was far from stable. The two emphases of his studies – Spanish literary and martial capabilities – intertwine; he critiques the naval policy of the Earl of Leicester in the margins of his books even as he identifies the vernacular as a tool of political aggression in a highly cultivated epistle to Edmund Spenser (1552?–1599). An academic steeped in classical sources, Harvey's studies reflect an effort to prepare himself for a career as a diplomat or secretary. This chapter examines Harvey's letters and marginalia to establish a parallel between his anxieties about England's military prowess in Europe (particularly in opposition to Spain) and similar concerns about the English vernacular. Harvey's perspective on the best use of language is never stable, but his lifelong assumption that the vernacular held a key to political understanding makes his annotation habits a useful case study of the various ways Englishmen might use literature to consider Anglo-Spanish relations.

Harvey's studies were facilitated by his status as a rhetorical authority at Cambridge and motivated by political ambitions leading to a desire to further develop his connections at court. He matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge in 1566, but was disliked by his peers and was not elected fellow despite academic successes. Through the intervention of his friend and patron John Young (1514–1581/2), he was elected to a fellowship at Pembroke Hall. Battling personality conflicts throughout his life, Harvey received the Greek lectureship and in 1574 became the university *praelector* in rhetoric.¹ These appointments caused increasing tension between Young, Harvey and the other fellows at Pembroke.² By 1576 Harvey began to work with politically and diplomatically mobile courtiers, particularly the Earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588), Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586), Sir Edward Dyer (1543–1607) and Daniel Rogers (c.1538–1591). Harvey studied Livy with Sidney before the latter's departure for Europe as the Queen's representative to Emperor

¹ Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia, and Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 13–28; *Grace Book 41. Containing the Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1542–1589*, ed. by John Venn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), p. 274.

² Aubrey Attwater, *Pembroke College Cambridge: A Short History*, ed. by S. C. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), p. 45.

Rudolph II in March 1577.³ In his *Gratulationum Valdinensium* (1578) Harvey describes being presented to Elizabeth the same year, an episode that gave rise to perhaps his most overt instance of self-fashioning during which he adopted an Italian accent (foreshadowing the importance he would place on linguistic understanding in his various gambits to establish his suitability for diplomatic service).⁴ Summoned to court in 1580 to serve Leicester as secretary, Harvey's time in the Earl's retinue was brief, lasting for less than a year in 1580–1581.⁵ After 1588 he split his time between the universities and London, where he practised law in the Court of the Arches, a relatively unusual arrangement that Jason Scott-Warren attributes to Harvey's continuing efforts to build a career for himself at court.⁶ Around this time Harvey describes vernacular language as a 'great and magnificent instrument'.⁷ 'Instrument' in early modern English meant an object used for 'the performance of an action'.⁸ This chapter will reveal the extent to which Harvey understood language as a tool of action – not only of communication, but of cultural and political advancement.

Harvey understood vernacular poetry to spread across borders and so be a means through which a country might develop international influence. Writing to Spenser, the first section of this chapter shall show, Harvey argues that vernacular poetry is a key tool of foreign diplomacy and perhaps the primary means through which European nations, particularly France, Italy and Spain, establish influence amongst their peers. To correct the disparity between the influence Harvey attributes to English and that with which he credits other languages, he experiments with verse hexameter with the aim of appropriating some of the strength of classical style in English, the second section of this chapter shall show. Harvey's annotation in two Spanish-language learning tools, Antonio del Corro's *The Spanish grammar* (1590) and Richard Perceval's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591), signal a turn in his language studies towards a greater focus on Spain after the Armada. As Harvey worked to understand England's enemy, he annotated Niccolò Machiavelli's (1469-1527) *The Arte of Warre* (1573) and Sextus Julius Frontinus's (c. 40 – 103 AD) *The strategemes, sleightes, and*

³ *Letters and Memorials of State, in the reigns of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James, King Charles the First, part of the reign of King Charles the Second, and Oliver's usurpation*, ed. by Arthur Collins (London: T. Osborne, 1746), I, p. 96.

⁴ Stern, p. 44; Gabriel Harvey, *G. Harveii Gratulationum Valdinensium Libri quatuor* (Londini: Henrici Binnemani, 1578), sig. F2r, STC (2nd ed.) 12901.

⁵ Thomas Nashe, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. by R. B. McKerrow (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), III, p. 78.

⁶ Jason Scott-Warren, 'Harvey, Gabriel (1552/3–1631)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12517>> [accessed 24 May 2012]. Also see: Stern, pp. 33–47.

⁷ William Thomas, *The historye of Italye* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1561), sig. Ss1v, STC (2nd ed.) 24019, Houghton Library EC H2623 Zz584t. All notes of Harvey's annotations in Thomas's work refer to this volume.

⁸ 'instrument, n.', *OED Online*, 2013

<<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/97158?rskey=cWxTIN&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 13 March 2013].

policies of warre (1539); I will use his annotation on these works in the penultimate section of this chapter to demonstrate that as Harvey read he imagined potential English military policies through contradistinction with, and at times imitation of, contemporary and classical Spain, paralleling his language studies. This chapter concludes by examining Harvey's reaction to the trial of the Queen's physician, Roderigo Lopez (1525-1594), apparent in his annotation inscribed on Georg Meier's *In Judaeorum medicastrorum calumnias & homicidia* (1570). Here, rather than imagining his own role at court, Harvey marshals his disparate reading to develop an understanding of the threat posed by the Spaniard. As he does so he considers the work of Juan Huarte de San Juan (1529-1588), to which he attributes perhaps undue authority to shed light on the various elements of the doctor's identity and so places surprising faith in the Spanish exposition as a source for information about the conflict. Throughout his study Harvey advances the idea that poetry and poets might be important tools of political understanding because of the influence he attributes to vernacular language. As such, his studies of language parallel more overtly political inquiries designed to establish his eligibility for a diplomatic career. This chapter examines episodes emblematic of Harvey's paired linguistic and political concerns to create a case study of his evolving efforts to understand Spain. Harvey's academic interest in rhetoric, paired with his desire to ready himself to contribute to Elizabethan politics, led to three decades of letters, annotations and poetry exploring the various connections between England's security, foreign policy and language and those of Spain.

1. Harvey's Letters and Vernacular Influence

Harvey's interest in the threat posed by Spain developed out of his larger concern that England establish and maintain a competitive position within a perceived hierarchy of European powers. Two letters, one sent by Harvey to Spenser and printed in 1579, and the other sent by Harvey to his mentor Young, reveal that the Cambridge rhetorician saw the development of competing European vernacular poetries much like an arms race; from an early date he perceived a need to create an English verse form as potent as anything that existed on the continent and this guided much of his studies.⁹ Harvey's letter to Spenser shows that by the beginning of the 1580s he understood a poetically expressive vernacular language as playing an essential role in securing European influence and saw poetry as a means of asserting power that might be akin to war or diplomacy. His letter argues that while Italy, Spain and France exploit the influence of their languages, English has not

⁹ London, British Library, MS Sloane 93, fols 37v, 83v–87r. Also see: Gabriel Harvey, *The Letter Book of Gabriel Harvey A.D. 1573-1580*, ed. by Edward John Long Scott (London: The Camden Society, 1884), pp. 65, 159-160. For ease of access all further references will be to the printed volume.

realised the political potential in poetry. Harvey's observation was not only a rhetorical exercise sent to a friend, but an observation upon which he modelled future action. His letter to Young, addressed at the end of this section, demonstrates that he countered his anxiety regarding the developing European vernaculars with efforts to promote the use of English in Cambridge. Harvey's letters to Spenser and Young are forerunners to a career spent considering the political applications of the vernacular, a project that aligned with his own career goals. Pairing these two letters demonstrates the rhetorician's sense that vernacular and political advancement are interrelated, and so establishes a context for consideration of Harvey's parallel literary and military studies of Spain, which follows in the rest of the chapter.

Written with a patriotic enthusiasm that may have been motivated by the threat of a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, Harvey's 1579 letter warns that Italy, Spain and France are advancing their vernaculars and so asserting cultural influence over neighbouring European powers, posing a threat to England's cultural autonomy.¹⁰ Harvey declares:

What thoughe Italy, Spayne, and Fraunce ravished with a certayne glorious and ambitious desier (your gallantshipp would peradventure terme it zeale and devotion) to sett oute and advaunce ther owne languages above the very Greake and Lattin [...]¹¹

The description of Italy, Spain and France's 'glorious and ambitious desier', to improve their languages suggests not merely stylistic improvement of these vernaculars, but their broad use both inside and outside their respective nations; 'ambitious desier' prompts them to 'sett oute', perhaps beyond their borders. Harvey applies the same description, 'ambitious desier', to burgeoning linguistic hegemony that Cicero attributes to Roman acquisition of provincial land. Thomas Newton's translation of Cicero printed in 1577 (the same year as Harvey's *Ciceronianus*), uses the word 'glorious' to refer to 'Souldiers', 'Soveraigntye of Empyre' and the 'names and greate titles' of the countries of the Earth and those who conquer it.¹² As Newton connects 'ambitious desire' to nations and rulers who hoped to expand the borders of their realms and 'that same ambitious desire' with 'Honoure, Principalitie, & Provinces', Harvey warns that the imperial aspirations of Italy,

¹⁰ For more information on Spenser's correspondence see: Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 91; Edmund Spenser, *Selected Letters and Other Papers*, ed. by Christopher Burlinson and Andrew Zurcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹¹ Harvey, *The Letter Book*, p. 65.

¹² Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Foure severall treatises of M. Tullius Cicero*, trans. by Thomas Newton (London: Tho. Marshe, 1577), sigs. B2v, F1v, K4v, M1r, O4r, R2v, STC (2nd ed.) 5274.

Spain and France may also be manifest in the spread of their language.¹³ Identifying these nations' intent to 'advance ther owne languages above the very Greake and Lattin', Harvey expresses concern that Romance languages may surpass English as they follow a classical model. Harvey warns not of the increasing perfection of Italian, Spanish and French so much as of the threat that they might follow Greek and Latin as pan-European languages, anchoring his contemporary political concerns in a historical precedent. The sense that the past might foreshadow the future permeates Harvey's studies, as we shall see throughout this chapter, and motivates his impulse to understand England through comparison with classical and contemporary empires. Harvey's parenthetical aside, modifying his statement by ventriloquising Spenser (he asserts that 'your gallantshipp would peradventure terme it zeale and devotion') places his concern about the spread of French, Italian and Spanish in parallel to the threat posed to the Reformation by the most powerful Catholic nations of Europe.¹⁴ Thus in the first clause of his letter Harvey identifies a perceived threat to various elements of England's identity – its language and its Protestantism – leading him to consider how to combat a Catholic, imperial opponent in the remainder of the epistle.

Harvey moves swiftly from introducing the threat posed by England's rivals to an explanation of how France, Italy and Spain enact cultural colonisation across Europe not by war but rather rhetoric.¹⁵ He explains that the Romance languages 'stand [...] altogethir uppon termes of honour and exquisite forms of speeches, karriinge a certayne brave, magnificent grace and majesty with them'.¹⁶ The perhaps surprising importance Harvey attributes to language is consistent with his position as university *praelector* of rhetoric and perhaps his tendency towards self-aggrandisement.¹⁷ Although 'honour' was used broadly during the early modern period to mean respect or reverence, for Harvey this is mixed with a particularly martial connotation.¹⁸ In his *Foure letters, and certaine sonnets* (1592), printed more than a decade after his letter to Spenser, Harvey writes that 'the brave Earle of Essex,

¹³ Cicero, sig. P2r.

¹⁴ Both 'zeal' and 'devotion' were associated with religion. Their context in Harvey's letter, which places England in opposition to the Catholic nations of Italy, Spain and religiously fraught France, necessarily introduces the threat of contemporary Rome alongside the idea of empire. See: 'devotion, n.', *OED Online*, March 2013, Oxford University Press, 30 April 2013 <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/51579>>; 'zeal, n.', *OED Online*, March 2013, Oxford University Press, 30 April 2013. <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/232724?rsk=y=YRwunr&result=1&isAdvanced=false>>.

¹⁵ The St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572 and the series of religious assassinations which preceded it, along with rising tensions in the Low Countries from 1566, made it clear that European jostling for power and control was not limited to the realm of poetry.

¹⁶ Harvey, *The Letter Book*, p. 65.

¹⁷ Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78 (p. 56).

¹⁸ 'honour | honor, n', *OED Online*, 2012

<<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88227?rsk=y=6XfB5T&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 28 February 2013].

woorthy sir John Norrice, and their valiant knightes, have fought for the honour of England,' evoking the 'honour' and patriotism of the various military campaigns led by the two courtiers.¹⁹ While 'honour' always means credit or esteem for Harvey, it regularly appears in instances where the honour of one party (in this case England) must be defended against the force of another. This close association between honour, political success and poetic prowess is not unique to the scholar's work, but recurs throughout texts produced in the English Renaissance. In *The defence of poesie* (1595) Sidney used 'honour' to explain a similar correlation between poetry and military expansion: 'who would shew the honours have bene by the best sort of judgements graunted them, a whole sea of examples woulde present themselves; *Alexanders, Caesars, Scipioes*, all favourers of *Poets*'.²⁰ Alexander (356-323 BC), Caesar (100-44 BC) and Scipio (236-183 BC), all masters of strategy, particularly imperial expansion, famously acknowledged the importance of poetry, Sidney notes. In his 1579 letter Harvey expresses a similar sentiment: 'What though you and a thousand such nurrishe a stronge imagination amongst yourselves that Alexander, Scipio, Caesar, and the most of ower honorablist and worthiest captaynes had never bene that they were but for pore blinde Homer?'.²¹ Like Sidney, Harvey's insistence upon the importance of poetry to classical imperial history connects martial power and indeed imperial success to the effective use of language. Good leadership seems to lie in an understanding of honour that relies upon both wit and might to build an empire. For Harvey, these generals' support of poetry indicates not only the power of language to instigate or encourage martial expansion, as is true for Sidney, but also might speak to the role of the poet as a creator of a memory of national success for posterity, an idea we have seen Fraunce consider in *The Arcadian rhetorike*.

Harvey explains his concern that vernacular verse created in France, Italy and Spain is being read abroad: '[These nations] do so highly and honorably esteeme of their countrie poets reposing on greate parte of their sovraine glory and reputation abroad in the worlde in the famous writings of their nobblast wittes'.²² Thomas Kyd's 1588 translation of Torquato Tasso's *Padre di Famiglia* equates 'Soveraigne, Ruler, Governour, [and] Maister'.²³ Thus Harvey's statement that Italy, France and Spain have made their 'sovraine glory' contingent on 'the famous writings of their nobblast wittes' seems to locate the

¹⁹ Gabriel Harvey, *Four Letters, and certaine Sonnets* (London: J. Wolfe, 1592), sig. B4v, STC (2nd ed.) 12900.5. Harvey's note might reflect his awareness of contemporary diplomatic concerns as from 1591 through 1594 Essex's followers encouraged Elizabeth to replace Sir John Norris (c.1547x50-1597) in Brittany with Essex.

²⁰ Philip Sidney, *The defence of poesie* (London: William Ponsonby, 1595), sig. H1v, STC (2nd ed.) 22535.

²¹ Harvey, *The Letter Book*, p. 65.

²² Harvey, *The Letter Book*, p. 65.

²³ Torquato Tasso, *The householders philosophie*, trans. by T. K. (London: J. C[harlewood]. for Thomas Hacket, 1588), sig. D2v, STC (2nd ed.) 23702.5.

reputation of the state and the monarch in the hands of the ‘poets’. Harvey focuses on the ease with which language is dispersed, as ‘sovraine glory and reputation’ is spread ‘abroade in the worlde’; this endows the poet with a power to influence foreign perceptions that might even surpass other forces of empire-building (like the military or the monarch). This explains Harvey’s concern that the English vernacular retain its power alongside Italian, French and Spanish and also explains his somewhat unwarranted hope of transitioning from his position as a university authority on rhetoric to a powerful diplomatic position at court.²⁴ Harvey’s concern over the ‘reputation abroad in the worlde’ France, Italy and Spain are developing with their vernaculars is further evidence that for him the refinement of poetry is not simply a project that improves culture, but is also an internationally oriented process designed to contribute to the power of the state within Europe.

Harvey’s sense of national identity developed in part through a comparison of the English vernacular with those of other nations. In this letter, the success of Italian, French and Spanish drives Harvey’s desire to promote and perfect English. Again, Harvey was not alone in his belief that poetry played an important role in the development of political reputations that might be spread abroad; shortly after the publication of Harvey’s letters his rival Thomas Nashe describes Harvey’s ‘ill english Hexameter’, which, he claims, fosters the rhetorician’s ‘reputation abroad in the worlde already, and some credit amongst his neighbours’.²⁵ Even Nashe, whose feud with Harvey is notorious, concedes that his rival’s poetry might contribute to his growing reputation, and that this ‘credit amongst his neighbours’ could help him reach his goal of going ‘to the warres’ in the Low Countries in service of Leicester or the Queen (for which Nashe thinks he is ill-suited and underqualified).²⁶ Nashe’s concern that Harvey’s occasional rhetorical insight might blind those in power to his faults demonstrates that he shares Harvey’s sense that a poetic reputation correlates with influence. Thus Harvey’s phrase ‘their countrye poets’ transforms ‘poets’ into a national resource able to assert influence across borders. By declaring that vernacular poetry increases each nation’s ‘reputation abroad in the worlde in the famous writings of their nobblist wittes’ Harvey identifies Italian, French, and Spanish as threats to English autonomy.²⁷

²⁴ Jardine and Grafton make a similar observation about Harvey’s ‘careerist’ studies of Livy in the company of Sidney. Jardine and Grafton, p. 56.

²⁵ Thomas Nashe, *Strange newes, of the intercepting certaine letters, and a convoy of verses, as they were going privilie to victuall the Low Countries* (London: John Danter, 1592), sig. D3r, STC (2nd ed.) 18378.

²⁶ Thomas Nashe, *Strange newes*, sig. D3v.

²⁷ Harvey, *The Letter Book*, p. 65.

Harvey explicates the importance of a strong vernacular to empire in a passage that demonstrates the extent to which he conflates linguistic and political advancement:

What, though it hath universally bene the practisse of the flourishist States and most politike commonwelthes from whence we borrowe our substantiall and most materiall praeceptes and examples of wise and considerate government, to make the very most of ther vulgare tungen, and together with there seigniories and dominions by all meanes possible to amplifye and enlarge them, devisinge all ordinarye and extaordinarye helpes, both for the polissinge and refininge them at home, and alsoe for the spredding and dispersinge of them abroad?²⁸

Harvey's letter collapses the expansion of 'seigniories and dominions' with the 'vulgare tungen', implying the two result from the same effort. The conclusion of the epistle describes three precepts that he would use to guide his studies in the coming decades: that some contemporary countries may offer models of national advancement; that linguistic and national advancement were one and the same; and finally, that strengthening a language required both vernacular rhetorical refinement and dispersal across borders. He pairs verbs to describe the dual process of building a language and an empire; Spaniards, Frenchmen and Italians 'amplifye and enlarge' their languages, and are 'polissinge and refininge' and 'spredding and dispersinge' them abroad. Harvey is writing in prose, and these pairs have no obvious meter; yet the rhythm added to Harvey's letter by this recurrence of near-synonyms in pairs emphasise the process through which nations advance. This duality differentiates between the utility of language 'at home' and 'abroad'. For Harvey, the most 'flourishist States', those successful enough to have 'seigniories and dominions' beyond their borders, are always characterised by both 'polissinge and refininge' their own rhetoric and 'spredding and dispersing [their vernacular language] abroad', implying that this diffusion of language comprises a necessary component of national advancement. G.C. Moore Smith observes that Harvey's political ambitions 'fired his ardour in his early studies' of oratory; his letter demonstrates that just as he subscribed to the idea that the route to personal political success would be the mastery of rhetoric, so he advanced the notion that the success of England as a European power lay in the perfection of the English language.²⁹

In a separate letter, composed while Harvey was at Pembroke Hall and sent to his friend and patron Young, he explains the importance of promoting English over Latin:

²⁸ Harvey, *The Letter Book*, pp. 65-66.

²⁹ Gabriel Harvey, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, ed. by G. C. Moore Smith (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), p. 55.

It mai seem straung unto you [...] that I, which am accustomed to write lattin epistles unto you, do now, contrary to mi manner and your expection write in English. But if it mai pleas your wurship to consider the caus, I hope you wil accept as wel of it, as if I had writ in lattin [...] And this I speak, God is mi witnes, not for fasshion sake, after the manner of sum schollars, and mo courtiers; but for your deserts sake, and mi duties sake, after the manner of thos, that account wel of wel doing.³⁰

Harvey counter-intuitively characterises his use of English as a sign of respect for Young. The letter marks the beginning of Harvey's project to use, popularise and perfect English in an effort to compete with the threat posed by continental languages; he admits that it is not his custom to write in English and that his letter 'mai seem straung' to Young for this reason. In his preface to Spenser's *The shepheardes calender* (1579) E. K. expresses a similar sentiment: 'our Mother tonge, which truely of it self is both ful enough for prose & stately enough for verse, hath long time ben counred most bare & barrein of both'.³¹ E. K.'s complaint describes the suitability of English for both prose and verse, indicating that Harvey was not alone in his efforts to promote English, but rather was part of a larger tendency that characterised his intellectual network within the university. Harvey goes on to argue that English must not be considered secondary to Latin, spending more than two thirds of his letter defending his use of the vernacular to Young. He explains that the letter is written in English 'not for fasshion sake', in imitation of other scholars or courtiers.³² He thus implies that his project has the potential to invigorate the existing 'fasshion' for English at court and at the universities and contribute to revision of popular perception of composition in the vernacular to make it a component of an Englishman's 'duties [...]and] wel doing'. The political significance Harvey ascribes to the vernacular here guides his studies for decades, leading him to experiment with improvements to English and to read Spanish after the Armada.

2. Appropriation of Non-English Rhetorical Forms

The sense that the creation of paradigms for the vernacular might have significant political application motivated Harvey's efforts to improve and solidify English.³³ Prone to compare English with other vernaculars, Harvey may have been conscious that English did not reflect the Latinate verse patterns used by some continental poets.³⁴ Perhaps in order to

³⁰ Harvey, *The Letter Book*, pp. 159–160.

³¹ Edmund Spenser, *The shepheardes calender* (London: Hugh Singleton, 1579), sigs. Q2v, STC (2nd ed.) 23089.

³² Harvey, *The Letter Book*, pp. 159–160.

³³ Always interested in rule-setting, Harvey laid out principles of orthography in his letters to Spenser and had evidently studied a range of sixteenth century orthographic reformers. See: Stern, pp. 145–46.

³⁴ Du Bartas' (1544–1590) *La Sepmaines* (1578), a work that claimed an Elizabethan readership, used hexameter (which English translations often changed to pentameter). See: Susan Snyder, *The Divine Weeks and Works of*

counteract this, he set out to mimic Latin verse forms, becoming one of the primary proponents of English hexameter. He explains that his project will ‘helpe forwarde our new famous enterprise for the Exchanging of Barbarous and Balductum Rymes with Artificial Verses’.³⁵ Describing rhyme as ‘Barbarous’, Harvey depicts contemporary English poetic forms as non-classical and perhaps even in opposition to the development of an empire. Harvey’s experimentation with hexameter was far from isolated; Spenser, Sidney, Dyer and Fraunce all composed this type of verse.³⁶ Far from stable, Harvey’s relationship with hexameter demonstrates the extent to which his theories of language evolved throughout his career reflective of his patriotism and personal aspirations.

Harvey explains that English might be improved by imitating verse forms that occur in classical languages. In his *Foure letters, and certaine sonnets* (1592), Harvey writes: ‘English is nothing too-good to imitat the Greeke, or Latine, or other eloquent Languages, that honour the Hexameter, as the soveraigne of verses, and the high Controwler of Rimes’.³⁷ Harvey encourages England’s poets to imitate not only Latin and Greek but also other ‘eloquent Languages’ and so develop English through appropriation of both classical and contemporary forms; this use of the word ‘that’ might even imply that for Harvey, at this moment, the eloquence of language was to some extent contingent upon its use of hexameter. His characterisation of hexameter as the ‘soveraigne of verse, and the high Controwler of Rimes’ implies that meter is the most powerful stylistic device.³⁸ Identifying

Guillaume de Saluste, Sieur Du Bartas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 59–60. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Selected Poems of Garcilaso de la Vega*, trans. by John Dent-Young (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 76; John Armstrong Crow, *An Anthology of Spanish Poetry: From the Beginnings to the Present Day, Including Both Spain and Spanish America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1979), p. xxxii.

³⁵ Edmund Spenser, *Three Proper and wittie, familiar Letters* (London: H. Bynneman, 1580), sig. D4r, STC (2nd ed.) 23095. For discussion of the rise and treatment of hexameter in English amongst the authors associated with Sidney see: Malcolm William Wallace, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), pp. 230–231.

³⁶ Harvey declares: ‘If I never deserve anye better remembrance, let mee rather be Epitaphed, The Inventour of the English Hexameter: whome learned M. Stanihurst imitated in his Virgill; and excellent Sir Phillip Sidney disdained not to follow in his Arcadia, & elsewhere’. Derek Attridge identifies Sidney’s composition of quantitative poems for the *Arcadia* (probably between 1577 and 1580) as the starting point of the interest in hexameter; Timothy Crowley identifies these same poems as evidence of Sidney’s Spanish sources. Although Harvey notoriously styled himself the ‘inventour’ of English quantitative verse, neither he nor Spenser showed much interest in the form after 1580. Robert Greene (1558–1592) and Brian Melbancke (fl. 1583) were among early Cantabrigians to publish English poems in classical forms (both matriculated with Fraunce in 1575). William Webbe (fl. 1568–1591), whose *Discourse upon English Poetrie* (1586) strongly encouraged the use of classical verse forms in English, was also at St John’s with Fraunce. See: Timothy D. Crowley, ‘Sireno and Philisides: the Politics of Piety in Spanish Pastoral Romance and Sidney’s Old Arcadia’, *Studies in Philology*, 110 (2013), 43–54 (p. 43); Steven W. May, ‘Marlowe, Spenser, Sidney and- Abraham Fraunce?’, *Review of English Studies*, 62 (2011), 29–41 (p. 36); Derek Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 130, 200; Gabriel Harvey, *Foure Letters, and certaine Sonnets* (London: J. Wolfe, 1592), sig. C3r–4r, STC (2nd ed.) 12900.5; William Webbe, *A discourse of English poetrie. Together, with the authors judgment, touching the reformation of our English verse*. (London: John Charlewood for Robert Walley, 1586), sig. H1r, STC (2nd ed.) 25172.

³⁷ Harvey, *Foure Letters, and certaine Sonnets*, sigs. C3r–4r.

³⁸ Richard Harvey modifies the household and military meaning of ‘controller’, which in early modern England was often used as a synonym for ‘comptroller’, to mean one who corrects, reproves or censures, in

hexameter as the ‘soveraigne’ of verse, Harvey returns to his earlier concern that language might contribute to national strength and addresses this by introducing this powerful form to English. In this moment of poetic leadership, Harvey’s sentiment parallels those of his Spanish contemporaries. Michael McGann explains that Garcilaso de la Vega (1501-1536), Juan Boscán (1490-1542), Fernando de Herrera (1534-1597) and Fray Luis de León (1527-1591) were all associated with quantitative Latin metre; it is not surprising that several of these poets feature heavily in the critical work of Fraunce, who produced some of the best examples of English hexameter in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Yrychurch* (1591) and who often considered continental verse as a model for his English poetry.³⁹ Thus while Harvey’s experimentation with hexameter looks to a classical model, it was also part of his project to match the rhetorical advancement he perceived in France, Italy and Spain. Consistent with his observation that England ‘borrowe[s its] substantiallist and most materiall praeceptes’ from the ‘floorishingist States’, Harvey seems to be comfortable imitating rival nations, somewhat paradoxically, in order to refine English cultural and governmental structures.⁴⁰ This depiction of hexameter modifies our understanding of Harvey’s studies of European vernaculars. In the first section of this chapter we saw that Harvey may have understood the political use of contemporary languages in Europe to offer a model to England; now we see him attempting to learn from foreign verse forms themselves.

Although Harvey promotes English hexameter, at times he seems wholly confident in rhyme and the strength of his native language without any need to adopt hexameter. In *The Schollers Looe*, which makes up part of the second half of Harvey’s letter book, he writes:

Nowe a loove in superlative degree
 Scarcely sutch an other in Spayne or Italie.
 Hayehoe my sweetist hallidaye,
 I beseeche you marke my roundelaye ;
 Looke for no measure in my ryme,
 Passions, you know, observe no tyme.⁴¹

Harvey claims he has achieved a level of virility in English verse that surpasses what is expressible by Spaniards or Italians as he commands ‘Nowe a loove in superlative degree/

his *Plaine Percevall the peace-maker of England* (London: Eliot’s Court Press for G. Seton, 1590), STC (2nd ed.) 12914.

³⁹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Selected Poems of Garcilaso de la Vega*, trans. by John Dent-Young (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 76; Michael McGann, ‘Horace in the Renaissance’, in *Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. by Stephen Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 305–317 (p. 306); John Armstrong Crow, *An Anthology of Spanish Poetry: From the Beginnings to the Present Day, Including Both Spain and Spanish America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1979), p. xxxii.

⁴⁰ Harvey, *The Letter Book*, pp. 65–66.

⁴¹ Harvey, *The Letter Book*, p. 105.

Scarcely sutch an other in Spayne or Italie'. Regardless, however, of the strength and versatility Harvey perceives in English, he still measures the expressive success of his language through comparison with what is possible in the vernaculars of 'Spayne and Italie'. Even as Harvey champions an English rhyme and claims to discard meter (in a poem that is not metrical), his verse is preceded by a note reading 'a dayes correction woould sufficiently refine [the poem]. The meeter must be more regular, and the English elocution more elegant', an aside that captures something disingenuous in Harvey's confidence in the strength of English rhyme.⁴² 'English elocution', or rhetorical style (itself derived from classical guides), is considered alongside 'meeter', a form that the poem implies is not necessarily English. Thus even as Harvey characterises English as self-sufficient and more effective than Spanish and Italian he reveals an impulse to imitate both Latin and contemporary continental style in the very poem that eschews them. Far from passionately writing amorous verse, Harvey revises his poetry to improve his own English eloquence with borrowed verse forms in order to create the strongest vernacular possible.

In the late 1570s and early 1580s Harvey expressed an awareness of the political threat posed by foreign vernaculars and a concern that England's neighbours and rivals would outpace it in a race for European linguistic dominance. This case study of how Harvey's political anxiety led him to experiment with a variety of forms indicates that his at times confused attempts to adopt classical meter, and perhaps his other efforts to codify English, were part of an evolving project to improve a language he perceived as nationally important. In many ways he shares the goals of Abraham Fraunce's *The Arcadian rhetorike*, which examines the rhetorical advancements of vernacular languages in order to highlight the success of English and make provision for its further improvement. Up to this point I have examined texts in which Harvey considers the threat posed by Spanish alongside French and Italian. In what remains of this chapter I will examine Harvey's increasing focus on Spain following the Armada of 1588 and so consider the impact of the conflict on Harvey's imitative approach to vernacular advancement.

3. Annotations in Spanish-Language Manuals

Harvey's marginalia in bilingual dictionaries and grammars are indicative of a reassessment of the connection between political and vernacular advancements and a new focus on Spanish-language sources. Shortly after the attack of the Armada, Harvey consulted two Spanish-language guides, Antonio del Corro's (1527-1591) *The Spanish grammer* (1590) and Richard Perceval's (c.1558-1620) *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591). Caroline Brown Bourland

⁴² Harvey, *The Letter Book*, p. 102.

argues that Harvey's marginalia on Spanish works 'tell more about the contemporary status of Spanish in England than they do about Harvey'.⁴³ The two texts also give particular insight into the importance the rhetorician ascribed to Spanish language texts as a means through which to understand the fraught relationship between England and Spain at the beginning of the 1590s. His annotation in the guides describes the influence, and so threat, of the Spanish language alongside an explanation of the power of Spain. We will see that Harvey follows a note indicating the connection he sees between the linguistic and imperial advancement of Spanish with a list of literary works, presumably those he saw as most important to understanding the spectre of Spain. As such, Harvey's notes on the works give a sense both of the weight he assigned to the Spanish language after the Armada and how this might have shaped his reading programme.

While I will treat Corro's *The Spanish grammar* thoroughly in my next chapter on the Earl of Leicester, Harvey's annotation of the first Spanish-language book printed in Elizabeth's England merits discussion here as it does much to reveal how the Armada affected his programme of study. Harvey used Corro's dictionary as a starting point from which to consider the connection between the Spanish language and empire. Annotating in 1590, Harvey describes the parallel he perceives between the Spanish language and the power of Spain in the margins of Corro's work. He notes that, like Philip's 'power and glorious nation', the Spanish language becomes 'more flowering and noble'. Harvey depicts the spread of Spain's empire and its language as codependent as he explains that 'wherever [Spain's] monarchy has ruled, their language has done the same'.⁴⁴ In keeping with Harvey's letter to Spenser, the note expresses concern with the geographic expansion of the Spanish empire and the fact that the vernacular has spread to all the locations where the 'monarchy has ruled'.⁴⁵ Although the note may indicate that, at this moment, Harvey saw the spread of the Spanish language as the result of the success of the empire, rather than the tool of influence it seemed to be in his letter to Spenser, the success of the state and its vernacular are still fundamentally tied. One page later Harvey concludes that Latin is less corrupt among the Spaniards than among the Italians or French.⁴⁶ His comment, which seems to allude both to the proximity of the Spanish and Latin languages and the Spaniards' aptitude

⁴³ Caroline Brown Bourland, 'Gabriel Harvey and the Modern Languages', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 4 (1940), 85–106 (p. 97).

⁴⁴ Antonio del Corro, *The Spanish grammar* (London: John Wolfe, 1590), sig. Sv3, STC (2nd ed.) 5790. '*Quò potentior, et gloriosior natio; eò florentior, et nobilior Lingua. Certè ut Monarchia prædominatur: sic tandem Lingua*'. Harvey's copy of Corro's work is now held at the Huntington Library; I am thankful to Alexander Samson for transcribing many of Harvey's notes. All references to Harvey's notes in Corro refer to this volume. I am thankful to Kate Maltby for her Latin translation here and throughout this dissertation.

⁴⁵ Harvey, *The Letter Book*, p. 65.

⁴⁶ Corro, sig. S4v. '*Latina Lingua, incorruptior apud Hispanos, quam apud Italos, aut Gallos*'.

for classical learning (and perhaps literary forms, as discussed above), differentiates Spain from France and Italy. This distinguishes Harvey's sentiment expressed in the marginalia in the volume from his letter to Spenser, composed nearly a decade earlier. Spanish was now a primary concern in Harvey's study of linguistic and imperial advancement.

Having identified some particular concerns regarding the Spanish language – its advancement that paralleled the spread of the Spanish empire and its sympathy with Latin – Harvey provides a reading list, perhaps as a plan to advance his understanding of the enemy's imposing vernacular. The list of Spanish books noted in the *Spanish grammar*, which may be works Harvey owned but are more likely works he had read or aspired to read, is inscribed on the last page of the volume.⁴⁷ Primarily comprised of texts of either military or poetic significance, including 'Diana of Monte Maggior: Boscan: Garcilase: and sum other legends of chivalry and errant knights', the list included Juan Huarte de San Juan's psychological treatise *Examen de Ingenios para las ciencias* (1575; English translation 1590 and 1594) and several naval manuals that I will discuss later in this chapter. Harvey annotated Corro's *The Spanish grammar* at least twice within the years immediately following the Armada, in 1590 and 1591. His annotations, concluding with his list of Spanish works, indicate that he saw Corro's *Spanish grammar* as the first step in a long process of developing familiarity with the enemy's language and, as the various martial treatises the list includes indicate, the threat posed by Spain.

Harvey also annotated a copy of Richard Perceval's *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, paying particular attention to the second part of the guide, which offers an English-Latin-Spanish dictionary. On the title page that accompanies Perceval's lexicon, Harvey explains that the work 'is properly homogeneous and purely Spanish'.⁴⁸ Harvey's note indicates that although the work is trilingual, he used it only as a tool for Spanish (to such an extent that his précis ignores its inclusion of English and Latin).⁴⁹ Like Harvey's annotation in *The Spanish grammar*, his note conveys the sense that by 1591 he places particular weight on his studies of Spanish. It is not necessarily unexpected that Harvey's annotation in *The Spanish grammar* and the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* might imply his particular interest in Spain; these works, after all, are concerned with Spanish themselves and his notes might be expected to

⁴⁷ Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 3.

⁴⁸ Richard Percyvall, *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (London: Richard Watkins, 1591), STC (2nd ed.) 19619. 'Huc Meum Dictionarium Homogeneum, propriè, et merè Hispanicam'. Harvey's copy of Perceval's work is now held at the Huntington Library. Harvey's inscription appears on what would be sig. F2v (the title page of the dictionary following the grammar), however signature numbers begin from 'A1' on the first page of the dictionary (two leaves after the title page).

⁴⁹ 'mere [adv.], in *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. by P. G. W. Glare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), II, 1212.

reflect this. However, in John Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593), a grammar designed for the study of French and English, Harvey writes 'for French and Spanish', perhaps indicating that his interest in Spain spilled over into his studies of other foreign vernaculars.⁵⁰ Although it is impossible to determine the meaning of Harvey's brief note, it implies that he uses Eliot's guide to understand Spanish, as well as the French for which it was intended. The many example-sentences describing Spaniards and Spain might have provided Harvey with insights into 'Spanish' culture, although the work itself only explains the French language. I will discuss the descriptive nature of Eliot's ethnographic work later, but it is important to note this indication that Harvey's language studies were particularly oriented towards understanding Spain after 1588, even in texts seemingly providing information about other nations or vernaculars. Harvey's brief explanation of the parallel success of vernacular language and empire inscribed on his copy of Corro's *The Spanish grammar*, his apparent use of a French language manual to consider Spain, and his emphasis on the solely Spanish nature of Perceval's trilingual work all imply Harvey's heightened interest in Spanish after 1588; the attention he pays to Spanish language manuals in itself is indicative of this development in his studies. Driven by his long held belief that vernacular language might contribute to imperial success, Harvey turned his attention to Spanish following the attempted invasion of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Harvey's marginalia in his language guides reflects the first stage of a self-devised programme to meet this new threat. In these he identifies both the influence wielded by the Spanish language and a reading list that would allow him to better understand its power.

4. Harvey's Ramism

Harvey's studies of Spanish following the Armada were typical of his impulse to derive an understanding of foreign practices and national characters from a broad range of texts, a scholarly tactic that in some ways aligned with his identity as a Ramist. Ramism, a significant strain of the humanism that dominated Renaissance universities, may also have contributed to Harvey's drive to identify effective rules for vernacular rhetoric and coincided with his particular affinity for finding models for English practice in contemporary foreign texts.⁵¹ Harvey was perhaps the most dedicated Ramist in England;

⁵⁰ John Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica: Eliot's Fruits for the French* (London: John Wolfe, 1593), sig. A1r, STC (2nd ed.) 7574.

⁵¹ Petrus Ramus, *Petri Rami Veromandvi, Rhetoricae Distinctiones in Quintilianum* (Paris: Matthaei Davidis, 1549), sig. B4v. Also see: Peter Ramus, *Arguments in Rhetoric Against Quintilian*, ed. by James J. Murphy, trans. by Carole Newlands (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2010), p. 83; Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 206; John G. Rechtien, 'The Ramist Style of John Udall: Audience and Pictorial Logic in Puritan Surmon and Controversy', *Oral Tradition*, II, 1987, 188–213 (p. 188). Ramus introduced a new academic hierarchy which reduced the significance of rhetoric

his residence in Cambridge may account for the vogue for Ramism at the university in the last few decades of the sixteenth century.⁵² Harvey saw his programme of reading as separating him from his Aristotelian colleagues at the university. In a letter to Young, then Master of Pembroke Hall and Prebendary of Westminster, Harvey reacts to charges raised against him by Thomas Neville (c.1548–1615), including the allegation that he alienated himself from his peers in college. Harvey was particularly offended by Neville's assertion that he was 'a great and continual patron of paradoxis and a main defender of straung opinions' and 'communly against Aristotle', perhaps a reference to the Ramist elements of Harvey's studies.⁵³ Although Ong explains that there were many 'great bone[s] of contention in the battle between the Ramists and Aristotelians', he does little to establish that the Ramists self-identified as a minority in the intellectual communities of Cambridge, as I suggest here.⁵⁴ The word 'straung' was primarily used as a synonym for 'foreign' at the end of the sixteenth century. Thomas Thomas's (1553–1588) *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (1587) uses 'strange' to describe the word 'exoticus' ('brought out of strange countrie; strange or for reine') and 'externus' ('outward, externall, strange, not of that countrie, a foreigner, an alien, a stranger').⁵⁵ E.K. pairs 'straungers [...] and alienes' in his commentary on Spenser's *The shepheardes calender*.⁵⁶ This usage is particularly evident in translations of foreign works, as in H. Lyte's (1529?–1607) version of R. Dodoens's (1517–1585) *A niewee herball* (1578) in which he identifies a certain species as 'a strange plante, and not founde in this Countrie'.⁵⁷ Lyte's example makes it clear that the plant is 'strange' because it is non-native. Neville's description of Harvey's 'straung' opinions thus denotes the non-English nature of Harvey's rejection of Aristotle. Not only was Harvey's understanding of England's rapport with the rest of Europe filtered through his analysis of the relationship between English rhetorical practice and those of foreign vernaculars, his understanding of his own position within the university was dependent on how his language and academic practice compared with those of his peers both in England and abroad.

within dialectical logic, changing its function from a means of establishing truth to a method of systematising linguistic style.

⁵² Gerard Passannante, 'The Art of Reading Earthquakes: on Harvey's Wit, Ramus's Method, and the Renaissance of Lucretius', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61 (2008), 792–832 (p. 804).

⁵³ Harvey, *The Letter Book*, p. 10.

⁵⁴ See: Walter J. Ong, 'Tudor Writings on Rhetoric', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 15 (1968), 39–69 (p. 64); R. F. Scott, 'Philosophy in English Universities; Revival of Aristotelianism in the sixteenth century; Everard Digby', *Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, IV (1921) <www.bartleby.com/cambridge/> [accessed 1 May 2012].

⁵⁵ Thomas Thomas, *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (Cantabrigiae: Richardum Boyle, 1587), sig. E1v, STC (2nd ed.) 24008.

⁵⁶ Spenser, *The shepheardes calender*, sig. C2v.

⁵⁷ Rembert Dodoens, *A niewe herbal, or a historie of plantes*, ed. by Henry Lyte (Antwerp: Henry Loe, 1578), sig. E1v, STC (2nd ed.) 24008.

Harvey explains his substitution of contemporary sources for Aristotle: 'I never yit tooke uppon me the defenc of ani quaestion which I culd not shew [...] out of sum excellent late writer or other; and esspecially out of Melanchthon, Ramus, Valerius, and Foxius, fower wurthi men of famus memori'.⁵⁸ Harvey insists on the appropriateness of the philosophers he cites as substitutes for Aristotle by asserting their 'famus memori' although most of the list is in fact comprised of his close contemporaries (a fact Harvey's description of the group as 'late' might acknowledge). Of most relevance here is Sebastián Fox Morzillo (1526–1559), tutor to Carlos, Prince of Austria (1545–1568), son of Philip II, a Spanish authority who stands out amongst the Protestant theologians and academics that make up the rest of Harvey's list.⁵⁹ The passage demonstrates how Harvey's Ramist interest in contemporary foreign sources and desire to improve England's rhetorical style results in an international reading list that supplemented his studies of classical texts.⁶⁰ Ramist methodologies may thus have encouraged Harvey's impulse to apply his broad reading of contemporary and classical sources, including literary works and language guides, to develop his understanding of English and foreign politics.

An annotated copy of one of Ramus's works may provide a case study of how Harvey's peers derived insights into contemporary politics from a range of texts and genres. In the *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta* (1569) Ramus explains the utility of mathematics as a medium through which to understand foreign culture, using the experience of commerce in Paris as a metaphor: 'Man conducts daily commerce not only with all of the provinces, but with Italian, Hispanic, German, Flemish, and British merchants, operating easily with great variety and diversity of weights and measures'.⁶¹ Ramus characterises the city as a confluence of languages, all of which may be negotiated if the merchant is able to understand the mathematical systems involved in his trade. Although part of a mathematical treatise, passages like this also made the *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta* an example of the *ars apodemica*, a type of travel writing

⁵⁸ Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) was a German reformer whose strong Protestantism would have appealed to Harvey. Cornelius Valerius (1512–1578) was a Dutch humanist who became a professor at Louvain. See: James William Richard, *Philip Melanchthon, the Protestant Preceptor of Germany 1497–1560* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), p. 379; Harvey, *The Letter Book*, p. 10. I am grateful to Renae Satterley, Senior Librarian at the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, for providing me with information regarding Cornelius Valerius, including access to a woodcut illustration from van Opmeer's opus *Chronographicum orbis universi*, published at Antwerp in 1611 (Science Photo Library C005/4624). For Harvey's studies of Aristotelian cosmology, see: Nicholas Popper, 'The English Polydaedali: How Gabriel Harvey Read Late Tudor London', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 66 (2005), 351–381 (p. 366).

⁵⁹ Ruth Pike, 'The Converso Origin of Sebastián Fox Morcillo', *Hispania*, 51 (1958), 887–882 (p. 887).

⁶⁰ Harvey, *The Letter Book*, pp. 20–21.

⁶¹ Ramus, *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta*, sig. G7v. 'Hoc hominum genus non modo cum provinciis amplissimi regni commercia exercet, sed cum mercatoribus Italis, Hispanis, Germanis, Flandris, Britannis quotidiana commercet exercet, varietate magna prorsus et dissimilitudine numismatrum ponderum, mensuram'.

that offered guidelines on how to systematise knowledge acquired abroad.⁶² Nicholas Popper notes Harvey's likely ownership of Ramus's *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta*, although his copy has never been identified.⁶³ A copy of *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta* located in the British Library may be indicative of how Harvey applied his studies to understanding the political relationship between Spain and England.⁶⁴ The volume contains annotations in a highly legible italic hand, written in very small lettering with a fine-tipped pen. The manuscript annotation bears every similarity to the annotation in an edition of John Blagrave's *The Mathematical Jewel* known to be inscribed by Harvey.⁶⁵ Although it is impossible to identify the hand as definitively that of Harvey, it certainly represents the response of an early modern Ramist to the mathematical treatise and would therefore correspond in many ways to how Harvey may have read the text.

While the annotation of the volume is light, it is characterised by the distinctive binary trees popular with Ramists in the 1580s that trace the text's argument with an eye for its international scope and political implications.⁶⁶ The work, which begins as a relatively straightforward mathematical text, offers the annotator insight into foreign, and particularly Spanish, academic practice. On sig. O2v Ramus offers a very brief history of the world's greatest thinkers and institutions and then ponders the place of Spain and Spanish universities within this intellectual evolution, noting the variety and disparity of Spanish mathematical practices.⁶⁷ In the margin the annotator notes 'The College of Philip of Spain'.⁶⁸ A page later Ramus considers the effect of Catholicism on the state of mathematics in Europe.⁶⁹ The annotator questions 'Is not this first the remit of the Pope?'

⁶² This led to the production of various travel guides, including Jerome Turler's *The Traveiler* (1575), Theodore Zwinger's *Methodus Apodemica* (1577), and Albrecht Meyer's *Certaine brief and special instructions* (1589).

⁶³ Popper notes that John Harvey thanked his brother Gabriel for this reference in his *Astrological Addition* (1588). Popper, p. 362. Also see: John Harvey, *An Astrological Addition, or supplement to be annexed to the late Discourse upon the Great Coniunction of Saturne and Jupiter* (London: Richard Watkins, 1583), sig. B2r, STC (2nd ed.) 12907.

⁶⁴ Petrus Ramus, *P Rami Scholarum mathematicarum, libri unus et triginta* (Basilea: Per Eusebium Episcopium & Nicolai Fratris hæredes, 1569), British Library C.112.e.9(2).

⁶⁵ John Blagrave, *The Mathematical Jewel* (London: Thomas Dawson, for Walter Venge, 1585), STC (2nd ed.) 3119, British Library 528.n.20(1). I am grateful to the British Library catalogue for its identification of Harvey's hand in this volume; although the name 'Harvey' appears on the title page, it is blotted and not wholly legible. Two other copies of Blagrave's work are held by the British Library, one of which is annotated heavily by Harvey in a thick pen in his distinctive italic hand, with his name and monogram on the title page beside the date 1585 (British Library C.60.o.7). This copy also contains elaborate charts and a movable paper astrolabe made by Harvey. The other (British Library C.54.k.6) is annotated in a far less legible italic hand, and contains the names John Harvey and Olyver Harvey and the date 1589. The marginalia in this volume are (apparently erroneously) attributed to Gabriel Harvey by the British Library catalogue, casting some doubt on the catalogue's identification of Harvey's hand in BL 528.n.20(1). If this is indeed Harvey's hand, he seems to have annotated two different copies at different times (or at least with differently sharp pens).

⁶⁶ Ramus, *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta*, sig. C3v.

⁶⁷ Ramus, *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta*, sig. O2v.

⁶⁸ Ramus, *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta*, sig. O2v. 'Philippus Hispanicæ, Collegio'.

⁶⁹ Ramus, *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta*, sig. O3r. 'Enimvero cum christianæ Europæ provincias fere omnes mathematica commendatione peragraverim, quo te piaculo Pie quinte pontifex Romane præteream. Academiae

in the margin as he apparently attempts to negotiate the relevance of mathematics to the Spanish monarch as differentiated from the pontificate.⁷⁰ Ultimately the marginalia comment on the sources of the curricula of the Spanish universities, considering authority within these relatively new institutions and whether power springs from the monarch, the Vatican, or some other source. Thus the annotator, imitating the methodology of Ramus himself, uses a discussion about the history of mathematics as evidence in a political analysis of Spain's alliances and powers, providing information not only on the state of mathematics in the Iberian Peninsula but also of the influences exerting force on the Spanish academies in general. Like Harvey's notes upon Corro's *The Spanish grammar*, the annotator uses the evidence given in the treatise to assess and understand the place of contemporary Spain within Europe. Corresponding with Harvey's at times anxious studies of a range of texts in an effort to develop an understanding of contemporary politics, the annotation demonstrates a drive in Renaissance England to create a context for their enemy, even through readings of the most unlikely witnesses.

The annotator's apparent comfort deriving insights into Spain from a source intended for another purpose (in this case, instruction in mathematics) reflects the *ars apodemica*'s characteristic method of using a range of observations, including mathematical differences, as a tool through which to understand the foreign. Harvey's career-long studies of Spain reproduce the methodology of the annotation in the *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta*; like mathematics, he repeatedly appeals to language to provide insights into foreign cultures. In this way he extends the approach of the *ars apodemica* to language, rhetoric and historical studies, conveying the sense that a skilled statesman would draw upon cultural understanding derived not just from coin systems, but also from languages, rhetorical methods and historical precedents. In the tradition of the *ars apodemica*, and in a manner consistent with his distinctive tendency to find evidence for his growing understanding of Spain in all that he read, the annotator of British Library C.112.e.9(2) inscribes political commentary upon Ramus's mathematical treatise in an effort to further understand England's enemy. Using a similar methodology, Harvey contextualised the Anglo-Spanish conflict through the consultation of language learning manuals, classical and contemporary military guides and psychological treatises.

academiarum principis dominus es: unde caeteris etiam omnibus academiis orbis Latin ni tempora studiorum promotion umque gradus, ordines facultatum, laborum praemia & privilegia descripta sunt.

⁷⁰ Ramus, P *Rami Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta*, sig. O3r. 'Ad primum qui de Pontifica'.

5. Harvey's Studies of Military Strategy

After the Armada, Harvey's annotation documents his effort to understand English naval strategy through comparison with Spain. Strikingly, Harvey at times allegorises England within classical histories in a manner that allows him to imagine favourable outcomes of the Anglo-Spanish conflict, as we shall see in his analysis of the work of Niccolò Machiavelli (1569-1527) and Julius Sextus Frontinus (AD 35-c. 103). In the years after the Armada, Harvey worked to gain military as well as poetic understanding of Spain. He notes his interest in 'Cortesii, et Medinae Libri Hispanici, de arte Navigandi' on the list of Spanish-language works that concludes his marginalia in Corro's *The Spanish grammar*, referring to Martin Cortes's (1510-1582) *The Arte of Navigation* (1551; translated into English in 1561) and Pedro de Medina's *The Arte of Navigation* (1545; translated into English in 1581).⁷¹ Yet rather than investigating his use of these two Spanish guides to military practice, I will here consider how Harvey adapted his diplomatic studies, which began nearly a decade before the Armada, to the new tension between England and Spain. By so doing I examine how Harvey sought to understand England's place in Europe and the extent to which he saw the past as a tool through which to understand the present. Although Harvey's marginalia indicate that he began his study of Machiavelli and Frontinus by 1580, later notes, made in or after 1588, show that he returned to *The Arte of Warre* and *The strategemes, sleightes, and policies of warre* as part of an effort to understand the escalation in the Anglo-Spanish conflict. Harvey's efforts to improve the English language along classical lines and in imitation of continental vernaculars thus parallel his studies of naval warfare, which he postulates also might benefit from following a Spanish example.

Before 1588 Harvey's studies of Europe focus on readying himself for a possible career in Italy, an effort that set a precedent for his later studies of Spain.⁷² The rhetorician's close consideration of various Italian texts and travel guides initially reflect this goal. Peter Stacey observes that Harvey's interest in Machiavelli ran contrary to mainstream opinion; *Il Principe* (1513) was at odds with Erasmus, whose works had found a strong

⁷¹ Martin Cortes, *The Arte of Navigation Conteyning a compendious description of the Sphere* trans. by Richard Eden (London: Richard Jugge, 1561), STC (2nd ed.) 5798; Pedro de Medina, *The Arte of Navigation wherein is contained all the rules, declarations, secretes, & advises, which for good Navigation are necessarie & ought to be known and practised*, trans. by John Frampton (London: John Dawson, 1581), STC (2nd ed.) 17771.

⁷² Harvey received Jerome Turler's *The Traveler* as a gift from Spenser in 1578. His copy can be found at the Rosenbach Foundation Library in Philadelphia. I am reliant on Virginia Stern's transcription of Harvey's annotation in this volume. Harvey read *The Traveler* in December 1578, just four months after he apparently heard Leicester tell the Queen that he would send him to Italy. Harvey takes this rumoured diplomatic mission seriously, annotating William Thomas's *The historie of Italye* (1561) in detail. Stern, pp. 41–42; Jerome Turler, *The Traveler* (London: William How for Abraham Veale, 1575), sig. A1r, STC (2nd ed.) 24336; Thomas, sig. A2v.

following in Cambridge.⁷³ Harvey declares the importance of Italy to ‘everie politician, pragmatician, negotiatour, or anie skillfull man’, indicating his perception that his studies of Italy might groom him for a position as a statesman.⁷⁴ Although his inclusion of ‘pragmatician’ on this list seems to allude to his life at the university (where one of the core subjects was logic), it is likely the idea of pragmatism for Harvey also concerns affairs of state; by 1593 Harvey associates a ‘Pragamticall [sic] Discourse’ with ‘Treaties of Confederacy, of peace, of truce, of intercourse, of other forrein negotiations’.⁷⁵ This use of ‘pragmatician’, alongside Harvey’s note associating the ‘pragmatician’ with the ‘negotiatour’ and the ‘politician’, indicates that his reading, and studies of Machiavelli in particular, are intended in part as preparation for a political career. However, Harvey methodically shifted his focus to understanding Spain – both its military and its language - after the Armada, perhaps reflecting the perception that expertise in current affairs might be a logical part of his preparations to participate in English diplomacy.

Harvey’s notes made in his copy of *The Arte of Warre* after 1588 forecast a continuity of successful military strategy from Rome through Spain and ending, perhaps, in England. Explaining that familiarity with Machiavelli is necessary for ‘every publique, or private actor in the world; that intendeth to travail, or do anything abroad’, Harvey implies that the political scenarios described in the work may offer insight into contemporary diplomatic situations that might arise in a foreign country.⁷⁶ In the margins of *The Arte of Warre*, Harvey criticizes the Earl of Leicester’s recent campaign in the Low Countries through contrast with Spain:

Owr English militar Discipline under General Norris, in the Dialogue intituled the Castle of pollicy; under the Earle of Leicester. In his own lawes, & ordinances The Spanish Discipline under the Duke d’Alva, & the Prince of Parma, the best Disciplin now in esse, newly discovered by Sir Roger Williams.⁷⁷

⁷³ Peter Stacey, *Roman Monarchy and the Renaissance Prince* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 204.

⁷⁴ Turler, sig. A1r.

⁷⁵ Gabriel Harvey, *Pieces supererogation, or; A new prayse of the old Asse* (London: J. Wolfe, 1593), sig. V2r, STC (2nd ed.) 12903.

⁷⁶ W. Carew Hazlitt, ‘Gabriel Harvey’, *Notes and Queries*, 1866, 371 (p. 371); Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre*, trans. by Peter Whitehorne (London: W. Williamson for John Wight, 1573), sig. Ee1r, STC (2nd ed.) 17165. I am dependent on Stern for Harvey’s marginalia in this case. One of Harvey’s copies of Machiavelli’s *The Arte of Warre* is in a private collection in the United States. Stern reports that Harvey heavily annotated this edition in both English and Latin. Another edition, which according to W. Carew Hazlitt is bound with Peter Whitehorne’s *Certaine wayes for the ordering of souldiours in battelray* (1588) and Girolamo Cataneo Novarese’s *Most Brief Tables to knowe redily how many ranckes of footemen* (1574), is currently lost. Hazlitt reports that this edition is also heavily annotated.

⁷⁷ Stern, pp. 161–163.

Harvey bases his understanding of recent English and Spanish practice on William Blandy's (fl. 1563-1581) *The Castle, or picture of policy* (1581) and Sir Roger Williams's (1539/1540–1595) account of Spanish military success in *A briefe discourse on warre* (1590).⁷⁸

Characterisation of Spanish practice as 'the best Disciplin now in esse' creates a hierarchy in which the policy of Sir John Norreys (ca. 1547-1597) is not 'the best'. By describing the policy 'newly discovered' by Williams, Harvey imagines an unexpected role for the author, as one who might innovate a new technique, even though this practice is already used by England's enemy. *A briefe discourse on warre* was intended as a guide for Essex (1565-1601) and the hawkish courtiers who surrounded the Earl. Williams's work examines the competence and proficiency of the Spanish army and argues that it should be emulated, a sentiment that Harvey characterises as a discovery. Harvey's use of the phrase 'newly discovered' suggests that with careful analysis of Spanish strategy it might be possible to improve English military capabilities through imitation, making the military scholar an essential contributor to the development of strategy. The Duke of Alba's (ca. 1528–1591) success might thus offer a model for English military practice and the authors that disclose Spanish techniques, Williams and Blandy, might be credited with its innovation.

Although Harvey's characterisation of the author or historian's role in recounting foreign military practice is unexpected, it echoes the work upon which it is inscribed. The note occurs at sig. Ee1r, parallel to Machiavelli's account of how the contemporary political predicaments of Italy were predicated on the past subjugation of Greece by Philip of Macedonia (382–336 BC). Machiavelli laments that although his studies give him insight into war, it is too late for him to use the skills he has gained: '[Nature] either ought not to have made mee a knower of this [history], or it ought to have given mee power, to have beene able to execute it'.⁷⁹ *The Arte of Warre* explains that while the author will not have the opportunity to apply his insight, by studying his treatise the reader may be able to do so, aligning with Harvey's intentions. Machiavelli assures his reader that the classical thinking on war is not outmoded, for 'the perfection that Posie, painting, and writing, [have now been] brought to' is achieved through imitation of classical paradigms. Like Harvey, Machiavelli here seems to see a parallel between the techniques that might advance the arts and those that develop warfare.⁸⁰ Machiavelli's treatise thus affirms Harvey's impulse to contextualise the current conflict within his studies of classical and contemporary theories

⁷⁸ David R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 56; William Blandie, *The castle, or picture of pollicy shewing forth most liuely, the face, body and partes of a commonwealth, the duety quality, profession of a perfect and absolute souldiar* (London: John Daye, 1581), STC (2nd ed.) 3128. William Blandie was a Spanish and Portuguese translator living at the University of Oxford.

⁷⁹ Machiavelli, sig. Dd4v.

⁸⁰ Machiavelli, sigs. Dd4v-Ee1r.

of war, an understanding that corresponds with his sense that academic training might indeed constitute adequate preparation for a diplomatic career.

Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton have long since shown that Harvey studied Livy in anticipation of a Spanish conflict, using classical sources to develop his understanding of war.⁸¹ Harvey's annotations on other classical texts also indicate his project to understand Spain, perhaps predicated on the premise forwarded by Machiavelli: past wars might give insight into future conflicts. This is particularly evident in his notes on Sir Richard Morison's (ca. 1513–1556) English translation of Frontinus's *The strategemes, sleightes, and policies of warre*, a work Harvey annotates to understand the repercussions of the battle with the Armada.⁸² Harvey inscribes marginalia at the time of purchase (1578) and again in 1580 and 1588.⁸³ His annotations analyse manoeuvres used in classical battles, comparing them with contemporary military problems. Contextualising the present by recourse to the past and the past by recourse to the present, Harvey mediates his understanding of contemporary military problems with references to classical campaigns throughout *The strategemes, sleightes, and policies of warre*. Beside Frontinus's description of Cassius's setting his ships alight in order to allow them to drift into his enemy's fleet, for example, Harvey comments, 'Owr English policy against the Spanish Armada, this other day'.⁸⁴ The note indicates that Harvey's 1588 reading of Frontinus was in part an exercise to contextualise current events and that, in the wake of the Armada, Harvey turned to classical sources in order to identify the best possible response to Spanish aggression. For Harvey, the classical might foreshadow contemporary events, justifying his hope of transitioning from his position in the university to one at court.

Frontinus discusses various tactics to gain entry into a heavily fortified enemy camp. His idea of impersonating a fallen enemy leader captures Harvey's imagination. He comments:

How easly might Sr Humfry Gilbert, or Captain Forbusher, or Captain Drake, have gained sum lyke opportunity? The Spaniards with bribes, have greatly advanced [Philip II's] proceedings in the low countrys, and other places.

⁸¹ Jardine and Grafton, p. 37.

⁸² Sextus Julius Frontinus, *The strategemes, sleightes, and policies of warre gathered together, by S. Julius Frontinus, and translated into Englyshe, by Richard Morysine* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1539), STC (2nd ed.) 11402. Harvey's copy of Frontinus's work can be found at Boston, Harvard University, Houghton STC 11402. All further citations of Harvey's marginalia in Frontinus are to this copy.

⁸³ Stern, p. 143. On sig. K3v Harvey writes 'The Spanish Armada, this summer 1588, would not have any sure advantage against England or otherwise prevaile, either by form or folliey', dating his third round of textual annotation to the autumn immediately following 'this summer 1588'.

⁸⁴ Frontinus, sig. H6v. Young led this particular attack on 7 August 1588. See: James McDermott, *England and the Spanish Armada: the Necessary Quarrel* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 366–369.

Corruption, the great stratagem of Philip of Macedonia; and now of this Philip of Spain.⁸⁵

The note exemplifies the complexity of Harvey's relationship with his continental sources; just as he looks to Frontinus, a classical source, for instruction on military practice, and is comfortable criticising Englishmen for their failure to adopt a similar strategy, he likewise notes Spanish 'corruption', apparently inherited by the Spaniards from another equally prominent classical source, Philip of Macedon.⁸⁶ Subtly depicting an English national character through comparison with Spain, Harvey implies that Englishmen are not corrupt, and that this has been a liability to their own strategy during the recent conflict. The Spanish classical heritage, indicated by the parallel naming of Philip of Macedon and Philip of Spain, is not particularly flattering yet could offer instruction to English strategists.

Harvey does not just place contemporary events in a classical context. He carefully selects classical analogies that allow him to imagine England in a favourable light. Next to Frontinus's paragraph reading 'The same Carthaginenses sent certayne men unto Rome, there to tary for a longe tyme, under colour of ambassage, and so to espy from tyme to tyme, what they intended', Harvey writes: 'Dn Beradn Mendoza, the Spanish Ambass. In England'.⁸⁷ Harvey's brief note creates a parallel between Carthaginian spies in Rome and Mendoza in England as again, the past foreshadows the events of the Anglo-Spanish conflict. This diminishes Spain's connection to the Roman Empire, instead casting Elizabeth's England as Rome and Spain as Carthage. Harvey plays with words; while Frontinus recounts a history of spies from Carthage in Tunisia, a Roman colony destroyed in 146 BC, the same name might refer to a kingdom on the Iberian peninsula that fell to Rome in 209 BC. This allows Harvey to allude to a history in which Spain was a subject of a colonising force, when Rome occupied Iberia. Harvey thus complicates Spain's claim to a classical past and allows scope for England to succeed to Rome as the next European empire. Counter-intuitively recasting the Spanish not as Rome but as Carthage, Harvey's reading allows him to depict both the inheritance of Spain and the potential of England. His notes indicate that for Harvey, any country might emulate Rome as long as it learned the lessons of the past. Research, like that undertaken by Harvey, might allow England to overcome Spain's classical inheritance. The existing comparison between Rome and Carthage creates roles into which modern nations might be cast, allowing Harvey to

⁸⁵ Frontinus, sig. H8v.

⁸⁶ Harvey was not alone in this association; Philip was celebrated on his entry into London in 1554 with a pageant of four forebearers named Philip including Philip of Macedon. I am grateful to Alexander Samson for bringing this event to my attention.

⁸⁷ Frontinus, sig. A5v.

imagine the potential future of the Anglo-Spanish conflict through recourse to the past. The work continues by explaining:

Cato in Spain, because he coude by no other meanes come to knowlege of the counccille of his ennemyes, commanded iii hundred souldiers violently to runne altogether upon the watche men, and to snappe up, and safelye to brynge one of them to hym, whiche man Cato so racked and tormented, that he uttered all the secretes of his company.⁸⁸

Harvey uses Cato the Elder's campaign in Hispania Citerior (recounted extensively in Livy's *Ab urbe condita*) not to highlight an instance of effective classical strategy but rather to examine Spain's particularly brutal early history. Harvey's extensive marginalia here, which include asterisks and underlining, paired with his relative disregard for the rest of the section, indicate the importance he places on the commentary. These notes, which seem to match Harvey's pen of 1588, might indicate the scholar's new interest in Spain after the Armada.

Harvey reads Frontinus's work with particular concern for tracing the strategy of Don Bernadino de Mendoza (c. 1540-1604), who, as mentioned in the introduction, was Spanish ambassador to England until 1584. He notes on sig. N3v, 'one of Mendozas furst practices, ovr Admiral slaine, and Drake fled. A compound Strategem', next to a passage recounting that:

Mago spredde abrode[sic] a rumour that night unto the Romaynes host, that Hanniball hadde slayne Marcellus, and was come to delyver the Locriens, that were besieged: and after he sent out horsemen privily, commaundyng them to muster and shewe them selves on the mountaynes, that laye in the syghte of the Romaynes hoste. By whiche pollycie he brought to passe, that Crispine thinking Anniball to be at hande, toke shyppyng and fledde.⁸⁹

Harvey sees Mago's (243 – 203 BC) creation of a rumour recounting Hannibal's (247 – c. 181 BC) victory and the death of leader Marcus Claudius Marcellus (ca. 268–208 BC), intended to weaken the Roman morale during the Second Punic War (218-201 BC), as parallel to 'Mendozas furst practices'; Harvey indicates that Mendoza spread a rumour that the English admiral, Lord Charles Howard, baron of Effingham (1535-1624) had been killed and that Sir Francis Drake (c. 1540-1596) had fled during the battle of the Armada. Harvey thus implies that this strategy of spreading misinformation had been inherited by the Spanish from their Carthaginian ancestors, and so again allegorises Spain as Carthage. In my final chapter I will discuss the proliferation of pamphlets following the Armada that

⁸⁸ Frontinus, sig. A5v.

⁸⁹ Frontinus, sig. N3v.

claim to address misrepresentations of the campaign circulated by Spain and in my first chapter I discuss Deloney's ballad, which likewise expresses fear of Spanish misinformation. Harvey's note reflects a critically under-examined, but apparently broadly felt, concern over Spanish propaganda and specifically texts misreporting the outcome of the Armada in the years immediately following 1588.

Harvey's annotations in his copy of Frontinus's work often return to Spain. On sig. B2v, for instance, Frontinus discusses Quintus Sertorius's (c. 126–73 BC) strategy as praetor in Spain, particularly the Roman's use of both rivers and burning trenches to avoid pursuit by his enemies. Next to this Harvey declares in English that this creates 'a dooble impediment for his enemy'.⁹⁰ On sig. C2v the work turns to discussion of Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus's (d. 211 BC) campaign in Spain. Harvey notes that 'Spaniards [are] hardy souldiurs' next to Frontinus's declaration that 'Spanyardes [are] a sturdy kynde of souldiours'.⁹¹ Harvey's attention to the history of England's enemy is evident in the sheer number of this kind of note in the volume. Yet although Harvey seems to seek military insight with his studies, he does not necessarily encourage England to pursue a war. At sig. J5v the volume describes a negotiation between Alcibiades and the 'Syracusans in Sicilia', wherein the hero conquers a city through threat and negotiation, without a military campaign. Next to the passage Harvey writes 'pragmatic', and at the end he muses, 'is not Ingland overlavish, in ayding the Low Cuntryes and France?'.⁹² Always first and foremost a man of letters, Harvey favours at this moment a diplomatic solution to the conflict that negotiates a fraught war of words rather than swords.

In 1580 Harvey annotates his copy of Frontinus's works in Latin but by 1588 he annotated in English. It is impossible to say why Harvey's annotation made this linguistic progression: perhaps as he moved away from the universities and his legal and courtly aspirations, his interest in the vernacular developed at the expense of his Latin and Greek; perhaps his marginalia here employ a meta-language, whereby he addresses classical history in Latin and contemporary conflicts in English. If this latter were the case, the recent conflict may have added to Harvey's sense, expressed in his letter to Spenser examined earlier in this chapter, that the English language might be an important component of establishing an English identity distinct from the influence of Europe. For the remainder of his career Harvey's marginalia would again and again react to the conflict between England

⁹⁰ Frontinus, sig. B2v.

⁹¹ Frontinus, sig. C2v.

⁹² Frontinus, sig. J5v.

and Spain and the always evolving, but also always important, role vernacular language played in his understanding of foreign policy.

6. *Study of Roderigo Lopez*

In an extension of Jardine and Grafton's argument that early modern 'scholarly reading [...] was always goal-oriented', this chapter explores the extent to which Harvey's career-long studies of Spain, which coincided with a desire to enter the service of members of court as a diplomatic secretary, led to sympathy between his studies of vernacular poetry and military strategy.⁹³ In this, the final section of my chapter, I will examine Harvey's efforts to understand a specific political problem: the treason charge levied against the Queen's physician, Doctor Roderigo Lopez (1517–1594).⁹⁴ Harvey draws upon a range of sources to understand the various aspects of the doctor's personal history that might have led him to betray the Queen; I will particularly consider the credibility Harvey counter-intuitively ascribes to a Spanish text, Juan Huarte de San Juan's *Examen de Ingenios*, as he investigates whether Spaniards should be trusted. Rather than the self-fashioning that can be seen throughout Harvey's career, this final section of the chapter sees him struggle to depict a member of the Anglo-Iberian community and so consider a political event.

Lopez was an émigré who began to serve Queen Elizabeth by the early 1580s. He was part of a large *converso* community that resided in London, most of whom had arrived at the English capital shortly after the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1537.⁹⁵ In various texts Harvey's annotations imply his suspicion of Lopez, who was first accused of poisoning the Queen in 1584. These allegations were not substantiated and Lopez's successful career continued until 1594, when he was arrested and executed for treason.⁹⁶ In 1880, Sidney Lee suggested that Lopez might have furnished Shakespeare with the prototype for Shylock.⁹⁷ James Shapiro explains that since Lee's article Lopez has been at the centre of most discussions regarding early modern portrayals of Jews in England, and that because of this the physician has been increasingly treated as almost exclusively Jewish,

⁹³ Jardine and Grafton, p. 30.

⁹⁴ Edgar Samuel, 'Lopez, Roderigo (c.1517–1594)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17011>> [accessed 22 May 2012].

⁹⁵ António José Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory: the Portuguese Inquisition and its New Christians 1536–1765* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 24. A *converso* was a Spanish or Portuguese Jew who nominally converted to Catholicism to avoid persecution during the Inquisition.

⁹⁶ *A True Report of Sundry Horrible Conspiracies of late Time Detected to Have (by Barbarous Murders) Taken Away the Life of the Queens Excellent Majesty* (London: Charles Yetseweirt, 1594), sig. A8v, STC (2nd ed.) 7603.5. For a further account of the trial of Lopez see: Francis Bacon, *Early writings, 1584–1596*, ed. by Alan Stewart and Harriet Knight (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), pp. 427–50.

⁹⁷ Sidney Lee, 'The Original of Shylock', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 246 (1880), 185–220. The Lopez-Shylock theory was made popular by Lee's article, but was in fact initiated by Frederick Hawkins's article 'Shylock and Other Stage Jews', which appeared in *The Theatre* in 1879.

at the expense of consideration of his Portuguese identity.⁹⁸ Edmund Campos reassesses this perception of Lopez, identifying the extent to which Elizabethans conflated Spanish, Portuguese and Jewish identities.⁹⁹ Campos's article convincingly demonstrates that some of the anti-Semitism ascribed to the scandal that surrounded Lopez may instead reflect an anti-Hispanic sentiment that dominated amongst the English, and furthermore argues that for most Elizabethans, the identities of Spaniards, Portuguese and Jews would have been difficult to differentiate.¹⁰⁰ The Spanish and Portuguese crowns joined in 1580, creating an Iberian union that would last for the next 60 years and a context for Elizabethan confusion. Indeed, John Florio's popular Italian-English dictionary *A world of wordes* (1598) defines the term 'marrano' as 'a Jew, an infidel, a renegade, a nickname for a Spaniard', demonstrating the misperception of Jewish and Spanish identities in the minds of early modern Englishmen.¹⁰¹ Florio's definition tacitly highlights the conflation of 'Spaniard' with 'Portuguese', as despite the fact that the small community of Crypto-Jews in London was almost exclusively of Portuguese origin, Florio associates 'marrano' only with Spaniards. Harvey's efforts to overcome this confusion and itemise elements of Lopez's identity to account for his duplicity guide elements of his studies by the end of 1594. The means by which Harvey derives his understanding of the scandal surrounding Lopez is particularly pertinent here because the doctor's trial, conviction and treatment have become a lens for many studies of early modern xenophobia. My investigation thus simultaneously makes an observation about Harvey's efforts to understand Spain and offers insight into early modern understanding of what it was to be foreign in London.

Harvey struggled to differentiate Lopez's Jewish traits from his Iberian characteristics. Seeking the source of Lopez's apparent duplicity, Harvey energetically turned to a Spanish text. Harvey quotes from San Juan's *Examen de Ingenios*, a psychological treatise that also offers incidental insights into rhetoric and court politics, as his marginalia consider Lopez's position as an Iberian Jewish physician.¹⁰² Initially Harvey's reliance on

⁹⁸ James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 173.

⁹⁹ Griffin explains that racial tensions were incorporated into *la leyenda negra* as ideas of Moorishness, Jewishness, and Turkishness were all conflated with Spanish identity in England but Campos is perhaps the first to identify how anti-Spain sentiment may have affected accounts of Lopez's treason. See: Margaret Tyler, *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood*, ed. by Joyce Boro (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2014), p. 7; Eric J. Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 9-10; *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourse of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. by Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Edmund Valentine Campos, 'Jews, Spaniards, and Portugals: Ambiguous Identities of Portuguese Marranos in Elizabethan England', *English Literary History*, 69 (2002), 599-616 (p. 600).

¹⁰⁰ Campos, p. 602.

¹⁰¹ John Florio, *A worlde of wordes, or Most copious, and exact dictionarie in Italian and English* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1598), sig. T1r, STC (2nd ed.) 11098.

¹⁰² Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de Ingenios para las ciencias* (Montova: D. Ramón Campwano, 1575).

the authority of Spanish texts to establish the credibility of the Portuguese physician might seem natural; most Jews living in London were Iberian and some had been educated in Spain, so a Spanish source might be expected to offer the most insight into their credentials. However, Harvey was investigating whether Lopez's Portuguese origin was the root of his treachery – broadly, whether Spaniards were prone to dishonesty – so his choice to turn to San Juan, another Iberian, is counter-intuitive. Harvey annotates an edition of Georg Meier's *In Judaeorum medicastroorum calumnias & homicidia* as part of a concerted effort to understand the credentials of Lopez and in this exposition inscribes a reference to San Juan.¹⁰³ Meier's work addresses the common early modern belief that Jews made better physicians than Christians. Lopez spent time in the Earl of Leicester's household during the same period as Harvey, although the Englishman's marginalia do not note any contact with the physician; it seems that much of Harvey's perception of Lopez and his trial came through the type of research that I examine here.¹⁰⁴ Harvey's annotations on Meier's work are difficult to date with certainty; however, their context gives clues as to when Harvey might have been working with his copy of *In Judaeorum medicastroorum calumnias & homicidia*. Harvey makes no reference to Lopez's death, a fact one would expect to find in his notes if the execution had occurred by the time he was annotating. In fact, he speaks of Lopez in the present tense as 'the queens Physitian', indicating that Lopez was still acting for Elizabeth at the time Harvey made his inscriptions (and perhaps that Harvey parted with this volume before he had cause to correct his statements).¹⁰⁵

Harvey notes in Meier's text: 'Francis I. King of France, cowld not be cured of any Physitian but a Jew, Examen de Ingenios. C.12'.¹⁰⁶ The précis, from *Examen de Ingenios*, shows that Harvey was familiar with either the Spanish work or the English translation. Two translations into English were produced during Harvey's lifetime, one by Harvey's friend John Wolfe in 1590, and another by Richard Carew and Richard Watkins in 1594.¹⁰⁷ Of these, the former now exists only as a four-page fragment held by the British Library.¹⁰⁸ Because Harvey's précis from the *Examen* is in English, he may have worked from an English edition, meaning that his marginalia probably date from after 1590 but before

¹⁰³ Georg Meier, *In Judaeorum medicastroorum calumnias & homicidia* (Spira: Speyer, 1570), British Library C.60.h.18. All further references to Harvey's marginalia in *In Judaeorum medicastroorum calumnias & homicidia* are to this copy.

¹⁰⁴ For more information on Lopez's time in London, consult St Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, volume xviii. Many of these notes concern Lopez's accommodation while working for the crown. See: Norman Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (London: C. Arthur Pearson Limited, 1918), p. 26.

¹⁰⁵ Meier, sig. F3v.

¹⁰⁶ Meier, sig. A1v.

¹⁰⁷ Juan Huarte, *A triall of wits* (London: J. Wolfe, 1590), STC (2nd ed.) 13889.5; Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de ingenios. = The examination of mens wits*, trans. by Richard Carew (London: Richard Watkins, 1594), STC (2nd ed.) 13890.

¹⁰⁸ London, British Library, General Reference Collection 1471.b.2.

Lopez's execution in 1594.¹⁰⁹ The fact that Harvey refers to the work by its Spanish title indicates he may have worked from Carew's edition, *Examen de ingenios*. = *The examination of mens wits* (1594), or may be an affectation; if the former, the note might offer further evidence that Harvey sought out a Spanish source to contextualise rising suspicion around the Jewish doctor in 1594.

Although Harvey's impulse to compare Meier's work with a Spanish disquisition is surprising given the context of the study, his sympathy with San Juan is not; the work employs a Ramist schematisation and the idea of language education recurs throughout.¹¹⁰ San Juan's *Examen de Ingenios* advocates for such a radical reorganisation of the humanist hierarchy of learning that nearly a century later Edward Bellamy used it as a proof of the existence of a type of Spanish Ramism.¹¹¹ Harvey's annotation referring to San Juan while reading Meier thus both conforms to Jardine, Grafton and Popper's observation that he applied a broad range of sources to his understanding of contemporary problems and furthermore coincides with my observation of a parallel between his studies of language and rhetoric and his understanding of political events.

The quotation from San Juan's *Examen* that Harvey inscribes upon Meier's treatise comes from a story that recounts the disappointment of the French king when he found that his physician was not a Jew but a *converso*.¹¹² The anecdote might be understood very differently in early modern England and Golden Age Spain. For San Juan, the story may have been intended ironically; many Spanish intellectuals and particularly physicians had renounced Judaism but were still considered to be the most skilled healers (evidence indicates that San Juan himself was probably a *converso*).¹¹³ Thus to a Spanish audience the French king's rejection of his *converso* doctor may have been interpreted as an error.

¹⁰⁹ Printed in four editions in 1594, Richard Watkins's *The Examination of mens Wits* seems to have been popular. This may indicate that, like Harvey, Englishmen in general turned to San Juan's analysis in the wake of Lopez's trial. Watkins entered *The Resolved gentleman* (1594), a work translated from Spanish by Lewes Lewkenor in the Stationers' Register in the same year. Also entered in the Stationers' Register in 1594 is *A disputacon betweene two Spanishe gentlemen concernynge phisyke*, although this volume was either never printed or has been lost. See: Arber, pp. 308b, 315b.

¹¹⁰ Chapter 2 of John Wolfe's edition on 'How that it is nature that maketh a youth able and fit for learning' discusses the difference between a 'Grammarian' and a 'Philosopher' and the approach of each to understanding the natural world.

¹¹¹ Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de Ingenios: or the Tryal of Wits*, ed. by Edward Bellamy (London: Richard Dare, 1698), Wing (1996) H3205; Huarte, sig. B5v.

¹¹² The *conversos* became a highly controversial group throughout Spain during the Inquisition. Many of these converted Jews and their descendants assumed important positions in government and society. Their achievements within the field of medicine and at the universities inspired increasing dislike by the 'old Christians'. The *conversos* were also almost the sole followers of Erasmus in Renaissance Spain. David B. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 294.

¹¹³ Malcolm K. Read, *Juan Huarte de San Juan* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1981), pp. 21–26; Elias Haim Lindo, *History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal* (London: J. Wertheimer and Co., 1848), p. 168.

Conversely, Harvey's note gives every indication that he read the story literally and took it as evidence that Lopez, a *converso*, lacked the medical prowess that might be expected to be endowed by his Judaism. Harvey seems to have turned to Meier's treatise in an effort to understand which specific elements of Jewish practice and learning (to which a *converso* might not have access) account for their skill as physicians. To this extent, San Juan's account, when read literally, corresponds with the conclusions reached by Meier's text. Harvey's cross-reference highlights the correspondence between the two works, pointing towards the conclusion that Lopez's conversion from Judaism to Catholicism reduced his medical credentials.

Having annotated Meier's exposition with cross references to San Jaun Harvey read *In Judaeorum medicastrorum calumnias & homicidia* while making notes symptomatic of a study designed to differentiate the perceived Jewish faculty for medicine from Spanish national identity. Harvey's annotations focus on cataloguing the positive qualities of Jews – particularly the scientific knowledge possessed by the mystics at Safed in Israel. On several occasions he refers to Jewish mysticism and how it informs medicine. He notes in Latin: 'It is only natural, given the admirable perfection of magic and miracles of the Kabbalist Jews, which they boastingly call cosmology, that those which enter this world in turn become physicians outside Safed'.¹¹⁴ Harvey's association of the 'admirable perfection of magic' with the medical credentials of the Jews of Safed, corresponds with the account from San Juan's exposition to which his annotation refers; the account in *Examen* indicates that a *converso*'s disregard for Jewish learning would stand in the way of medical understanding. Harvey's note distinguishes Spanish Jews and *conversos* geographically from the medically advanced mystics of Safed, again attributing a diminishment in their natural Jewish learning to their Spanishness. As a Spaniard, Lopez would not have had access to the insight gained through study at Safed.

On the last leaf of Meier's *In Judaeorum medicastrorum calumnias & homicidia* Harvey considers whether there is any advantage to having a Portuguese and Jewish physician, explaining:

Doctor Lopez, the Queenes Physitian, is descended of Jews: but himself A Christian, and Portugal. He is none of the learnedest, or expertest, Physitians in ye court: but one, that maketh a great account of himself, as the best: and by a kind of

¹¹⁴ Meier, sig. A4v. 'Naturale est quod admirabile perfectionem magicae et miracula Kabbalist Indaei, quod iactare vocant cosmology, quod quae Ingrediantur mundi vicissim fieri medici extra Safed'.

Jewish practis, hath grown to much wealth and sum reputation: as well with ye Queen herself, as with sum of the greatest Lordes and Ladyes.¹¹⁵

In the note Harvey struggles to understand various aspects of Lopez's identity - his Jewish heritage, his Iberian origins, and his current Christianity - to identify which of these elements might account for the recent poisoning. Harvey's ascription of 'a kind of Jewish practis' to Lopez indicates his awareness that, while the physician was now 'a Christian', elements of his past could not be expunged; similarly, Lopez might have maintained some loyalty to Spain although he had served Elizabeth for more than a decade. Harvey's criticism of Lopez's cultivation of wealth as a 'Jewish practis' may be derived from a resentment of Iberian Jews that was common in Elizabethan England and resulted from a Jewish monopoly over trade with Spain after the embargo that applied to all English and Spanish citizens from 1585/1586.¹¹⁶ Harvey clearly articulates Lopez's complex identity as an ex-Jew and an immigrant and appeals to San Juan's treatise to help decipher whether Jewish traits remain in a *converso*. This might clarify the nature of Lopez's apparent treason; after all, if Lopez still employed a 'a kind of Jewish practis', perhaps he also retained his medical credibility after his conversion, contrary to Harvey's likely reading of San Juan's text. By contrast, if, as Harvey seems to read *Examen* as indicating, Lopez was no longer a reliable doctor because he was no longer Jewish, perhaps he was not treasonous but merely inept. If he retained his Jewish medical ability, perhaps only then was the poisoning of the Queen necessarily intentional and duplicitous.

Harvey studies various aspects of Lopez's identity through the work of Meier and San Juan; the fact that one of the sources of Harvey's research is a Spaniard is striking because his reading is invested in the trope of Spanish untrustworthiness. Harvey's research indicates that in both his nationality and his religion Lopez was ill-suited to treat Elizabeth. The inscription of a quotation from San Juan's *Examen de Ingenios* onto Meier's tract offers evidence of Harvey's particular sense of the relevance of Spanish-language texts, even those that are not particularly concerned with foreign policy, to offer insight into the problems that arose from the Anglo-Spanish conflict. Harvey inscribes a provenance of European humanists on the title page of *In Judaeorum medicastrorum calumnias & homicidia*, all of whom, he implies, owned the volume before it came into his hands.¹¹⁷ Yet regardless of Harvey's awareness of the lofty readership of Meier's work and its extensive discussion of the sympathies between Judaism and medicine, ultimately his estimation of Lopez is collated with a Spanish treatise that only briefly considers the particular eligibility of Jewish doctors

¹¹⁵ Meier, sig. F3r.

¹¹⁶ Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 263.

¹¹⁷ Meier, sig. A1v.

to treat the monarchs of Europe. This offers further evidence of Harvey's impulse to apply his broad studies to his developing diplomatic, political, and social understanding of the workings of the English court and his at times counter-intuitive impulse to mimic Spanish practice even as he questions the character of Spaniards. As such, it offers a particularly intriguing case study of the many contradictions inherent in Harvey's parallel interest in the influence of the Spanish vernacular and the political power of Spain and Spaniards.

Conclusion

The first half of my dissertation has examined scholars who annotated, excerpted, and appropriated Spanish language texts primarily at the University of Cambridge. By examining letters sent to Spenser and Young, I have demonstrated that from the late 1570s Gabriel Harvey's writing promotes the notion that vernacular language is a powerful tool that could be used to shape, and indeed implement, foreign policy. This belief allowed him to conceive of himself, university *praelector* in rhetoric, as ideally trained to contribute to English diplomacy; much of his studies seem to have contributed to developing his qualifications for a position as a secretary. Harvey's studies of Mediterranean poetry and martial theory mirror each other; as Harvey adopts hexameter in his English verse in imitation of Latin, Italian and Spanish forms, he simultaneously consults Frontinus, Machiavelli and Cortes to better understand naval strategy. Through examination of the annotation in classical and contemporary works that characterised Harvey's reading for more than 20 years I have shown that after 1588 his interest in Spanish became more focused on military and diplomatic concerns. From 1588 until 1591 Harvey annotated Frontinus's history of the Romans and Corro and Perceval's English-Spanish language guides, all with the goal of understanding England's enemy's attributes and abilities. Harvey's study of Spain and Spanish, and the many and disparate sources from which it draws, is perhaps most abundantly evident as he considers the problem of Roderigo Lopez's presence in England, role at court and alleged treason. Harvey reads and refers to *Examen de Ingenios* as he works to understand the roots of Lopez's treason and concludes that while Jews make good doctors, Iberian *conversos* should not be trusted with the Queen's health. Through this example we saw Harvey's studies, designed to familiarise himself with the affairs of court, result in his careful depiction of a Spaniard, and by extension, perhaps, imagination of Spanish identity.

Like Fraunce, Harvey consults a range of Spanish texts with the intention of understanding the worsening English political relationship with Spain. Harvey's studies are more explicitly directed towards understanding the escalating conflict while furthering his

awareness of the Spanish language than those of his fellow Cantabrigians, leading him to consider works that overtly address military strategy alongside dictionaries, poetry and romances. This conforms to his letter of 1579 and demonstrates his conviction that a strong vernacular language might supplement a well-trained military in efforts to establish European dominance. Unexpectedly, given the hostility between England and Spain and the developing Black Legend, Harvey subscribed to the notion that Spanish texts, and indeed Spaniards, might offer models for English strategy and style. As such, he sought out Spanish texts and inscribed references to Spaniards on the broad array of sources he used to understand the war.

Chapter III:

The Earl of Leicester and the Politics of English-Spanish Language Guides

Robert Dudley (1531/2–1588; created Earl of Leicester in 1564), wielded substantial influence over Elizabethan foreign policy from early in the reign.¹ At the same time, he patronised dictionaries and language guides.² This chapter will show that these seemingly unrelated aspects of the Earl's career encouraged, perhaps inadvertently, the study and production of Spanish books in England that coincided with the height of the Elizabethan Anglo-Spanish conflict between 1586 and 1593. My third chapter examines how English-Spanish language manuals reflect changes in the English relationship with Spain. The production of some dictionaries and grammars was motivated by the potential to receive patronage from courtiers with a stake in Elizabeth's (1533-1603) foreign policy, a fact that leads me to scrutinise how invoking the name 'Dudley' sharpens the political stance of various lexicographers' works. This chapter considers the sheer quantity, and quality, of language guides printed in the late sixteenth century and asks why the first Spanish grammar in Elizabethan England was produced by a scholar working with Leicester's support and dedicated to a member of his secretariat. Unsatisfied with the explanation offered by earlier critics, who suggested that his patronage of lexicons was intended merely to cultivate a well-educated persona, this chapter suggests that the Earl's influence over the development of English foreign policy led to the production of tools to help Elizabethans study Spanish.³

The Earl of Leicester was a close childhood friend of the Queen, and from the beginning of her reign was her acknowledged favourite.⁴ While early in his career it seemed that Leicester might secure power by marrying Elizabeth, by the last two decades of his life his status at court was primarily derived from his role as governor general during a period of ever-expanding military engagements on the continent and in Ireland. The Earl acted to counter Spanish influence in Europe from at least 1571; during the winter of 1571–2 Leicester advocated for an Anglo-French alliance in support of a new revolt led by William,

¹ Simon Adams, 'Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8160>> [accessed 10 October 2012].

² Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester, Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. 147–149.

³ Rosenberg, pp. 147–149.

⁴ Simon Adams, 'Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8160>> [accessed 10 October 2012].

Prince of Orange (1533-1584) and hoped to lead an embassy to sign the treaty of Blois.⁵ The Dutch crisis of the winter of 1584–1585 finally led to decisive English intervention. Leicester voiced his desire to command a large-scale English expeditionary force in February 1585 and upon the surrender of Antwerp Elizabeth decided to send him to the Netherlands.⁶ On 15 January 1586 Leicester accepted the role of governor general of the Low Countries; Elizabeth publicly repudiated this decision, a show of bad faith from which the Earl never recovered. Under the instruction of the Queen, Leicester undertook a strategically difficult defensive war. He would spend the last two years of his life seeking greater support from Elizabeth for this campaign against Spain in the Netherlands.⁷

The lexicons and grammars produced as the English relationship with Spain fluctuated in the sixteenth century imagine a range of possible future interactions between the two nations. In 1554 a major political event, the marriage of Mary I (1516-1558) to Philip of Spain (1527-1598), coincided with the production of the first two Anglo-Spanish guides. This chapter will begin by examining these two works, which set a precedent for texts that would follow during Elizabeth's reign. These manuals provide vocabularies designed to facilitate a range of interactions, including the scholarly, courtly, religious, martial and mercantile, that might result from the match. Several decades later, as the Earl of Leicester reached the height of his influence over English foreign policy, scholars fluent in a range of European vernaculars populated his clientele. These included Spanish speakers like Arthur Atye (d. 1604), Antonio del Corro (1527–1591), John Thorie (b. 1568) and Thomas D'Oyly (c.1548–1603), all of whose work I shall consider in this chapter. Together these men sowed the seeds of interest in Anglo-Spanish study at Oxford in the late 1580s. This coincided with rising tensions in the Low Countries and the attack of the Armada of 1588, leading to the proliferation of printed works designed to facilitate the English study of their enemy's language. Although the early modern period saw a rise in international exchange and the study of foreign vernaculars generally, I am interested in the particular episodes, individuals and texts that added momentum to the study of Spanish in England. While Leicester's political stance and reputation as a patron of language guides make him a logical central figure to this series of case studies, other prominent courtiers also recieved dedications in dictionaries and grammars in the 1580s and 1590s. William Stepney's *The Spanish Schoole-master* (1591) was dedicated to Robert Cecil. This chapter will

⁵ Simon Adams, 'A Puritan Crusade? The Composition of the Earl of Leicester's Expedition to the Netherlands, 1585–1586', in *Leicester and the Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 186–195 (p. 179).

⁶ Adams, 'A Puritan Crusade?', p. 191.

⁷ Simon Adams, 'Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8160>> [accessed 10 October 2012].

ask: how does Stepney's manual imagine Spain and Spaniards and do these depictions differ from those included in earlier works associated with Leicester House? I will conclude by examining John Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica: Eliots fruits for the French* (1593). Dedicated to Robert Dudley (1574–1649), this language-learning guide advances a particular English interest in the threat posed to England by Spanish trade routes in the Atlantic. The language manuals I examine in this chapter reflect a half-century of developments in the English relationship with Spain. Ultimately I will argue that they use the juxtaposition of Spain and England inherent in their form to reflect upon the hostility between the two countries and forecast the various possible outcomes of Anglo-Spanish interaction.

1. English-Spanish Language Guides and the Marriage of Philip and Mary

The conflicts that characterised Elizabeth's reign developed out of a period of Anglo-Spanish alliance realised most fully during Mary I's marriage to Philip of Spain.⁸ In 1554 at least two English-Spanish language manuals were produced, perhaps correlating with an assumption that Mary's marriage would increase interaction between Englishmen and Spaniards. *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe* and *A very profitable booke to lerne the maner of redyng, wrytyng, speakyng English Spanish* provide example phrases for commercial, religious, courtly and familial conversations between Englishmen and Spaniards to which the new alliance might give rise.⁹ I will explore here how the lists of expressions they provide depict the imagined impact of the royal marriage on life in England and abroad and reflect both the hope and xenophobia that accompanied early modern international exchanges.

The booke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe and *A very profitable booke* survive in single copies held at the British Library, bound together in a cover made from an elaborate vellum manuscript.¹⁰ The title page of *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe* is missing and the text commences at sig. A2v. The final page declares that it is 'imprinted by me Robert Wyer' in

⁸ From 1559 elements of the English relationship with Spain were strained. The Duke of Feria (1520?–1571), Spanish ambassador to Mary's court, pointedly absented himself from Elizabeth's coronation. Although this was taken as a sign of hostility, England and Spain maintained important trade relations for years. From 1571 major factions in Elizabeth's court sought alliances that would stymie Spanish influence in Europe, and in 1585/1586 a trade embargo reduced mercantile exchange. See: John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 179–187; Judith Richards, 'Examples and Admonitions: What Mary Demonstrated for Elizabeth', in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. by Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 31–46 (p. 36); Carla Rahn Phillips, 'Libels and Other Weapons: The Written Word as an Adjunct to Naval Warfare', in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England 1554–1604*, ed. by Anne J. Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 123–35 (p. 123); Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 263; Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963), p. 96.

⁹ *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe* (London: Robert Wyer, 1554), STC (2nd ed.) 23010.5; *A very profitable booke to lerne the maner of redyng, wrytyng, speakyng English Spanish* (London: John Kymgston and Henry Sutton for John Wyght, 1554), STC (2nd ed.) 23010.7.

¹⁰ London, British Library C.175.bb.11(1); British Library C.175.bb.11(2).

1554.¹¹ The STC notes that the words and phrases in this edition reflect the content of *Sex linguarum, Latinae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, Italicae, Anglicae, et Teutonice, dilucidissimus dictionarius* (1541); the English-Spanish guide thus does not specifically react to the circumstances of 1554 but rather an early modern awareness of the necessity to communicate across borders more generally. However, the adaptation of the polyglot phrase book on the occasion of the marriage of Mary and Philip – the excision of its Latin, French, Italian and German to leave only a small manual containing English and Spanish – reflects the sense that the relationships posited by this earlier guide would be relevant to the increased Anglo-Spanish interactions that might be created by the match. Wyer developed a reputation as a canny businessman. ‘Most of Wyer’s output was popular, indifferently printed, and cheap, many being small octavos’ writes his biographer N.F. Blake.¹² In keeping with this commercial investment in works that would sell quickly, Wyer probably intended to capitalise on public interest as he produced his manual in 1554. *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe* takes the form of a practical phrase book. Its ‘fyrste chapyter is of god, of the Trinite, of power, and of ryches’. The chapter that follows is ‘of the Pater noster and the Ave María’.¹³ The manual proceeds to phrases useful in conversation, beginning with the question ‘wherefore’ or ‘*porque*’. Followed quickly with the jovial (if unhelpful) answer ‘why not’, ‘*porque no*’, this list initiates a pattern in which series of phrases might facilitate dialogues, the implications of which I will consider below. Early modern language manuals were not used solely as isolated reference works, but were ‘written with reading, which would often be sustained over a paragraph or more, and sometimes several pages, in mind’.¹⁴ While only some of the phrases listed by *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe* are conversational, the vocabulary the work makes available anticipates the words Englishmen and Spaniards might need as they interacted with each other in the wake of the royal marriage.¹⁵ It thus can offer us access to the paired anticipation and anxiety that accompanied international exchange in the mid-sixteenth century.

The third chapter is titled ‘of speches’. Rather than a general list of phrases, the guide seems to anticipate a certain amount of discord:

I am evyll plesed

¹¹ *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe*, sig. D4v.

¹² N.F. Blake, ‘Wyer, Robert (fl. 1524–1556)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30124>> [accessed 5 November 2012]; *Sex linguarum, Latinae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, Italicae, Anglicae, et Teutonice, dilucidissimus dictionarius* (Venetia: Marchio Sessa, 1541), STC (2nd ed.) 6832.7.

¹³ *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe*, sig. A2r.

¹⁴ John Considine, ‘Narrative and Persuasion’, in *Critical Essays on Early English Lexicography: The Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Roderick McConchie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 3–15 (p. 4).

¹⁵ *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe*, sig. A4r.

I am not worthy [...]
 Do after my mind
 I wyll not
 Wherfore wylte thou not
 It pleseth me not
 It pleseth me wel.¹⁶

Chapter three contains approximately ten times more negative statements (those including the word ‘no’, ‘not’, insults or threats) than positive phrases (those that allow the student to agree, affirm or compliment). The manual thus prepares its students for hostility; although ‘I am not worthy’ allows the speakers to express modesty, such affable vocabulary evaporates with phrases like ‘I wyll not’ and ‘It pleaseth me not’. Discord briefly gives way to praise with the phrase ‘It pleseth me wel’, one of the few instances in which the manual provides a positive alternative to the more negative ‘It pleaseth me not’. This profusion of phrases expressing confusion and negativity may be emblematic of an early modern xenophobia reflected in the *Sex linguarum* but is somewhat surprising on the occasion of a royal wedding and is perhaps indicative of the complex reaction to the new alliance anticipated by Wyer.

The manual proceeds through a series of phrases necessary to negotiate hostility, beginning with an expression of sympathy. Again, the vocabulary provided seems to predict difficult circumstances.

I am sorye for his dedes
 Be pacyente
 It is not true
 Me thynke not
 Thou lvest
 No verlye
 I beleve the not
 Why not
 It is done for noughte
 I wyll not do it for nought
 He was Idle all the daye thorowe
 It is evyll done
 It is well done.¹⁷

The manual offers a sentence of apology (‘I am sorye for his dedes’) and so anticipates the discord and reconciliation. It then proceeds through a litany of phrases that allow a speaker to contradict (‘It is not true’), negate reliability (‘Thou lvest’), and finally make accusations

¹⁶ *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe*, sig. A4r.

¹⁷ *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe*, sig. A4v.

of shoddy workmanship ('He was Idle all the daye thorowe' and 'It is evyll done').

Although such a list might be expected to be paired with phrases expressing the opposite sentiment, the only positive phrase in the sequence, 'It is well done', stands alone before a list of neutral expressions for location ('he is above', 'he is not at home'). The prevalence of argumentative phrases, which make up the vast majority of the manual's secular content, creates the ominous sense that with foreigners, and in this case Spaniards, might come conflict. The phrases 'I believe the not/ It is done for nought/ I wyll not do it for nought' are hostile in their repetition of the word 'not', but also serve to demonstrate the difference between the English homonyms 'not' and 'naught' for the Spanish user of the guide. 'Not' negating the verb is differentiated from 'naught' meaning nothing. The example may be designed to facilitate an exchange in which the price for services is negotiated; although the terms of the conversation are tough, the list provides a vocabulary that might be needed in a mercantile conversation. Indeed, possible commercial interactions are scripted throughout the manual; later on the guide provides terms with which to demand the payment of a debt 'What didest thou with the money [...] / Looke, you doo it soone, for I maye tary no longer'.¹⁸ The inclusion of the phrases might anticipate an exchange symptomatic of healthy trade relations; this theme, I will show, recurs throughout early modern Anglo-Spanish guides, and foreign language manuals generally, and complicates the discord *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe* anticipates by introducing the possible economic benefits to international exchange.

The manual prepares its user with the phrases necessary to describe a surprising level of violence. Part of the vocabulary equips a speaker with the ability to warn a listener of an approaching assailant:

He wyll kyll me
 He is my deadlye enemye
 He hateth me and I wote not for what cause
 Drawe fast
 Seeke this
 Consydre it well before thou do it
 He thoughte well upon it, whan he sawe it before his eyes.¹⁹

An enemy could be made 'deadlye' in the Renaissance as easily as one might acquire a mortal illness. John Baret's English-Latin-French phrase book gives a lengthy explanation of how things become 'deadly'; one might 'become a deadly enemy' just as readily as one might 'infect an other with his vices', which the guide defines either as 'to infect: to put

¹⁸ *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe*, sig. B1v.

¹⁹ *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanysshe*, sigs. B1v–B2r.

opinions into ones head being young' or as making literally 'sore and deadly'.²⁰ These multiple imaginings of 'deadly' human exchange allow the single word to evoke a range of ways by which interaction with the foreign might be detrimental and convey concern over ideas, diseases and violence.

Towards its end the guide provides practical phrases like 'shut the dore', 'I am hungrye' and 'Art thou confessed'. The pamphlet finally lists expressions that will be more familiar to modern language students, including 'my name' and 'thy name'.²¹ Yet even this more predictable content is quickly accompanied by phrases like the strangely juvenile 'if thou lette me not go, I shall tell thy father'.²² The work translates the Ten Commandments, the seven works of mercy, the deadly sins, numbers, expressions of time, names of servants, family names (which include words like 'doughter' and 'stepdaughter' as well as 'a bastarde sonne' and 'whore'), household wares, foods, 'the Devell, of hel, and of purgatorye', metals, spices and 'warres, bataylles and players'.²³ The guide ends ambiguously with a list of terms including 'warre', 'an oath', 'a banner', 'to make peace', 'treason', 'to play', 'that is thy losse' and the jovial 'it had ben better for thee, yf thee haddeste Clothed thy selfe with that money'.²⁴ This integration of the vocabulary of war with that of games, a conflation that we will see recur in other language guides, is illustrative of the ambiguity of the Anglo-Spanish relationship - and international exchange more generally - in the middle of the sixteenth century. As the English and Spanish met in 1554 they readied themselves for both fellowship and hostility. This guide, produced by the commercially savvy Wyer, imagines a range of possible relationships between Englishmen and the Spanish who followed Philip and so depicts the ambiguity of international alliances in the Renaissance.

Bound with *The boke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe* is *A very profitable boke to lerne the maner of redyng, wrytyng, speakyng English Spanish*. I have for the first time identified *A very profitable boke* as an adaptation of the German work *Vocabulaer in vier spraken duytsch francios, latiin ende spaensch*, compiled by Noel de Berlaimont (d. 1531), printed in Louvain in 1527 and reprinted in 1551.²⁵ The *Vocabulaer* achieved moderate success and its French, German, Latin and Spanish dialogues were reprinted together eight times. The version produced in 1554 retains only the *Vocabulaer's* Spanish, which it pairs with new English translations. The timing of this edition implies that the marriage of Philip and Mary may have given rise to

²⁰ John Baret, *An alvearie or triple dictionarie, in English, Latin, and French: very profitable for all such as be desirous of any of those three languages* (London: Henry Denham, 1574), sig. R4v, STC (2nd ed.) 1410.

²¹ *The boke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe*, sigs. B3v-4r.

²² *The boke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe*, sig. B4v.

²³ *The boke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe*, sigs. D1r, D2v, D4r.

²⁴ *The boke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe*, sigs. D4r-4v.

²⁵ Noel de Berlaimont, *Vocabulaer in vier spraken duytsch, françois, latiin ende spaensch* (Louvain: Bartolomy de Grave, 1551).

this modified version of the work designed to facilitate exchange between Spaniards and Englishmen. As such, like *The boke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe*, the production of the work itself constitutes a reaction to contemporary political events.

A very profitable boke is more overtly structured around dialogues than *The boke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe*; it often names speakers and scripts lines for each and so offers insight into how Englishmen studied the Spanish language during the Renaissance. Humanist grammar schools provided instruction in the classical languages but did not help students learn modern vernaculars. While private tutors are known to have educated Elizabeth in some languages, pedagogical practice was far from regularised.²⁶ By providing complete conversations between Englishmen and Spaniards, the manual subscribes to a mode of instruction that gives little explanation of grammatical rules, but instead immerses its reader in a series of pedagogical dialogues. It contains four sections:

The firste is a feast of v. interloquutours, in which be contained many dayly facions of speakyng, whiche we use when wee sytte at meate. The seconde sheweth the maner of byenge and sellyng. The thirde teacheth the ways of callynge upon your debtors. The fourth declareth the maner of writing spistles [sic] and letters of obligations, solutions, and of bargayns.²⁷

The missing ‘e’ at the beginning of ‘spistles’ gives a clue as to the compiler’s English literacy, I suggest. English words beginning with ‘s’ often have cognates in Spanish beginning with ‘es’ (for example, ‘special’ in English becomes ‘*especial*’ in Spanish, and conversely ‘*España*’ becomes ‘Spain’). The translator of the pamphlet seems to have extended this rule to the word ‘*epístola*’, which he assumes will be translated as ‘spistle’ rather than ‘epistle’; the error may indicate that the manual was not composed by a native English speaker. Divided into two columns, a black-letter English column on the left and an italic Spanish-language column on the right, the typeface here contributes to the depiction of the languages’ national origins, as the Roman inheritance of Spanish and the Germanic heritage of English are manifest visually on the page. The type itself thus seems to represent the historical claims of each language and juxtapose these inheritances in front of the student.

A very profitable boke includes conversations that reflect upon Spain’s growing European hegemony during the first half of the sixteenth century. As ‘Roger’ discusses

²⁶ ‘William Latymer’s chronicklle of Anne Bulleyne’, in *Camden Miscellany Volume XXX*, ed. by M. Dowling (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1990), XXXIX, 23–67 (p. 63). According to William Latimer, chaplain to Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth was tutored in ‘all tounge, as Hebrue, Greeke, Latyne, Italian, Spanishe, Frenche’.

²⁷ *A very profitable boke*, sigs. A2r-2v.

current 'newes', David asks, 'Is there no mencion of peace?'. Roger replies, 'I have nothing to saie of peace. I thynke peace be yet farre of'.²⁸ The participants discuss the Spanish dominance of Europe:

D: Have the not heard how the kyng of Fraunce, in battaill was overcome of the Spanyardes.

R: Verely, I have heard it. But there be caried aboute so many lies that a man cannot tell what should bee beleved, ther be told many marveilous thynges. But it is knownen to God, what will happen.²⁹

The guide thus evokes a common anxiety I observe throughout this thesis, namely that misinformation might circulate regarding Spanish power and particularly the nation's military success. Roger laments that there are 'so many lies that a man cannot tell what should bee beleved' and that 'ther be told many marveilous thynges' that it is impossible to gauge the actual success of Spain. Like the works produced later in the century under the Earl of Leicester, to which we shall turn in a moment, *A very profitable boke* reacts to the rumoured strength of Spain with doubts about the reliability of reports circulated, perhaps in the Spanish language. Although *A very profitable boke* is not originally an English work, its Flemish author expresses a trans-national concern over the growing power of Spain's army and propaganda that would become pronounced in England several decades later.

A very profitable boke emphasises commercial relationships, debt collection, and bargaining. The adaptation of *Vocabulaer* for the circumstances of 1554 indicates that the marriage of Philip and Mary prompted the creation of tools designed to facilitate the communication required by the new political environment. By editing earlier manuals to reflect a range of words that might be useful under the new regime, and by providing example phrases, the language manuals produced in 1554 imagine the type of conversations that might occur between Englishmen and Spaniards, from the violent to the mercantile to the religious. They thus provide a sense of the atmosphere in London in 1554 and the anticipation and anxiety elicited by the royal marriage. This would become even more pronounced as Anglo-Spanish relations evolved during the rest of the century.

2. Earl of Leicester's Reputation as a Patron of Lexicons and Grammars

Leicester's patronage of some twenty-seven foreign-language dictionaries has been attributed to a desire to cultivate a scholarly public image.³⁰ However, the Earl's involvement with the emerging discipline of lexicography at times also reflects evolutions

²⁸ *A very profitable boke*, sig. B7v.

²⁹ *A very profitable boke*, sigs. B7v-8r.

³⁰ Rosenberg, pp. 147-149.

in foreign policy and the interests of his multi-lingual secretariat as much as personal vanity. While it is impossible to identify the Earl's direct intervention in the process of dictionary-making, members of his retinue indirectly were responsible for many of the Anglo-Spanish manuals produced in the 1580s and 1590s. In the next three sections of this chapter I examine how various Anglo-Spanish grammars produced in the 1580s and 1590s reflect the Earl's foreign policy and the diplomatic projects undertaken by members of his secretariat.

Leicester's patronage of language guides and lexicographical texts began early in his career. Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus* was completed with his support in 1565. The dedication to Leicester marks the Earl's very recent installation as Chancellor at Oxford and declares that 'royal council' made him protector of the university.³¹ Thus begins a pattern in which the paratextual materials of language manuals depict the Earl of Leicester's relationship with the crown, the university, and language in various lights. The work was reprinted with no significant changes in 1573, 1578, 1584 and 1587; its success seems to have been at least partially responsible for Cooper's rapid rise within the English church and almost certainly contributed to the strong correlation between Leicester's time as Chancellor and the booming interest in lexicography and polyglot language manuals in Oxford.³² The success of the *Thesaurus* kept Leicester's name prominently in front of the book-buying public.³³ Leicester went on to patronise both classical and vernacular dictionaries and grammars, including the many successive editions of Lewis Evans's revised version of John Whithals's *Shorte dictionarie* (1579), one of the primary texts used in Elizabethan grammar schools.³⁴ In 1581 Edward Grant dedicated to Leicester his *Lexicon Græcolatinum*, an edition of the Greek-Latin dictionary compiled by Jean Crespin.³⁵ It is noteworthy that even Grant, a protégé of the Earl's sometimes-rival Burghley (1520-1598), sought Leicester's patronage for his learned reference work; Grant explains his decision by confiding his wish to emulate Cooper, comparing the successful thesaurus to his lexicon.³⁶ Alongside classical language

³¹ Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (Excusum Londini: Regiae Maiestatis, per Henricum Wykes, 1565), sigs Q3v, Q4v, STC (2nd ed.) 5686. 'Ut quos studiorum fructus Oxoniensis Academia profert, eos tibi solus auferas, qui tam libenter eam & studio foues, & consilio regis & aithoritate defendis'. Cooper had been at Oxford in various capacities for the previous three and a half decades. Also see: Margaret Bowker, 'Cooper, Thomas (c.1517–1594)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6229>> [accessed 14 November 2012].

³² DeWitt T. Starnes, 'Thomas Cooper's "Thesaurus": A Chapter in Renaissance Lexicography', *The University of Texas Studies in English*, 28 (1949), 15–48.

³³ Rosenberg, p. 146.

³⁴ John Whithals, *Shorte dictionarie for yonge begynners*, ed. by Lewys Evans (London: T. Purfoot, 1579), STC (2nd ed.) 25879.5.

³⁵ Jean Crespin, *Lexicon Græcolatinum*, ed. by Edward Grant (Londini: Henrici Bynneman, 1581), STC (2nd ed.) 6037.

³⁶ Crespin, sig. Q3v. '*Quare, ut te Latinae olim literae Thomae Cooperi Reverendisimi patris, Doctrinisimi senis, prudentissimi praesulis Lincolniensis amplissimo locupletissimi: oq; thesauro affatae sunt Sic Graecae nunc literceadem congestae literarum serie honori tuo humillimè sese offerunt, & defensionem patrocinium que tuum impensè rogant*'.

manuals, Leicester also supported vernacular dictionaries and grammars. In 1578 John Florio (1553–1625) dedicated his Italian language guide *Firste frutes* to Leicester.³⁷ The late 1580s saw both Antonio del Corro and Thomas D'Oylie produce Spanish-language books while under Leicester's patronage at Oxford. Although these two Spanish works are part of a trend that saw many language manuals dedicated to the Earl, their publication also coincides with the increased tension in the Low Countries, the expansion of Leicester's role there and the attack of the Spanish Armada; as such, rather than merely promoting a sense of the Earl's scholarly ability, as Rosenberg suggests, or seeking to capitalise on his association with successful grammars, as is the case for Grant, above, they might also constitute a reaction to contemporary events by members of Leicester's extensive clientele.

Early modern language guides were important tools for shaping public opinion. John Considine shows that the narrative potential of dictionaries made them an important tool for popular persuasion, and identifies a dominant belief amongst lexicographers that dictionaries could be a means through which the academy might influence affairs of state. In *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (2008), Considine argues that dictionaries held an important place in the 'imagination of their makers and readers', and that the lexicons of the Renaissance give us insight into the 'anxiety and pride and imagination and love' of their authors.³⁸ Like Considine, I argue that changes in English foreign policy gave rise to Anglo-Spanish language manuals that might both function as practical tools for communication and simultaneously depict a range of possible relationships between Englishmen and Spaniards. Unlike the guides produced in 1554, the manuals of the 1580s and 1590s are dedicated to courtiers whose own proclivities at times contributed to the political tenor of their work. As such, these guides reflect the anxiety produced by conflict and demonstrate how language study might be used to consider aspects of the Anglo-Spanish relationship.

3. Arthur Atye and the Installation of Antonio del Corro at Oxford

The Earl of Leicester's secretary, Arthur Atye, facilitated the growth of Anglo-Spanish language studies during Elizabeth's reign. In her *Leicester, Patron of Letters* (1955), Eleanor Rosenberg argues that the Earl was largely illiterate in all languages but English.³⁹ My research focuses on the scholars whose work he patronised and the secretaries who translated foreign literatures in his household, and asks: how did their studies reflect the

³⁷ John Florio, *Florio his firste frutes: which yeelde familiar speech, merie proverbes, wittie sentences, and golden sayings* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1578), STC (2nd ed.) 11096.

³⁸ John Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 5.

³⁹ Rosenberg, pp. 147–149.

political atmosphere of the 1580s and 1590s (years during which political realities limited dialogue between Englishmen and Spaniards)?⁴⁰ Atye is a component of the answer to this question. The Earl of Leicester kept between six and ten secretaries at any given time, supplemented by many others whom he used to deliver messages or relay information on the continent.⁴¹ For many years his primary secretary was the Spanish-literate Atye. David Norbrook implies a relationship between the Earl's secretariat, his patronage and his politics in *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (1984). He suggests that Spenser, another secretary of Leicester's, intentionally 'politicis[ed] romance' in *The Faerie Queene* by allegorising his patron's suit for the Queen 'to respect the body of strong Protestant opinion he claimed to represent' with Arthur's courtship of Gloriana.⁴² Extending Norbrook's observation regarding the impact of the political ideals of the Earl on the work produced by his secretaries, I consider Atye and his management of Spanish-language correspondence at Leicester House. This will demonstrate that Atye's management of the Earl's patronage contributed to the instigation of a trend for the production of guides that correspond with the fissures in Anglo-Spanish relations.

Atye handled nearly all of Leicester's diplomatic correspondence during his time as governor general in the Low Countries.⁴³ The secretary's skill as a linguist, and particularly his Spanish literacy, qualified him for the position as the Earl's affairs became suddenly more international. Atye remains unaccounted for by the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. I therefore provide relevant details of his personal and professional life here in order to situate him within Leicester House and contextualise his importance to the development of the study of Spanish in England and its particular success at the University of Oxford.

Atye's hand, which is described by Simon Adams as a 'neat, distinctive, and slightly academic secretary', offers an excellent metaphor for his life.⁴⁴ Although Atye's duties under the Earl brought him into contact with many of the most tense diplomatic situations faced by his generation, his correspondence is always calm and systematic, leading those

⁴⁰ Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 263.

⁴¹ Simon Adams, 'The Papers of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester: II The Atye-Cotton Collection', *Archives*, XX (1993), 131–144 (p. 134).

⁴² David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 59–91, 109–157.

⁴³ Adams, 'The Papers of Robert Dudley', p. 131.

⁴⁴ Scholarly debate surrounds the date on which Atye's service under Leicester commenced. Most recently Adams has argued convincingly that Atye was likely in Leicester's service as early as 1574, citing his endorsement of a series of Leicester's papers beginning with a letter of 26 June 1574 to Guzman de Silva, now British Library Nero BVII, f. 179r. Adams, 'The Papers of Robert Dudley', pp. 131–133. Also see: Gustav Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Perez's Exile* (London: Tamesis Books, 1976), II, p. 258; Rosenberg, p. 150.

critics who do consider Atye's career to characterise him as a scholar above all else.⁴⁵ Atye received his BA from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1561, and his MA from Merton in 1562.⁴⁶ His career as a student culminated in his attendance on the Warden of Merton, John Man, during his embassy to Spain between 1566 and 1568; there is no evidence that Atye had any knowledge of Spanish before this trip but by the time he returned he possessed a proficient command of the language.⁴⁷ Appointing Atye university orator to replace Tobias Matthew, Leicester seems to have relied on him as a scholar before he incorporated him into his service.⁴⁸

The Cottonian Manuscripts held at the British Library contain the majority of Atye's papers and most of his diplomatic writings. These documents testify to Atye's important role in Leicester's retinue as the conflict in the Low Countries grew.⁴⁹ He contributed to various aspects of the Elizabethan relationship with Spain, from the commercial to the martial: he was involved in the Barbary Company, a venture of Leicester's; his endorsement is found on countless Spanish letters regarding the evolving military situation in the Low Countries; and the Privy Council appointed him to question Spanish officials brought back from Bilbao in June 1585.⁵⁰ As tensions increased between England and Spain, so did Atye's prominence. By 1588 he had a chamber of his own in Leicester House and was recognised as 'principal secretary' to the Earl.⁵¹ At the same time

⁴⁵ This characterisation may reflect how Atye perceived himself; following the death of the Earl of Leicester, Atye applied for a post within the university as successor to Sir John Woolley rather than seeking further diplomatic employment. See: Ungerer, II, p. 257.

⁴⁶ Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1891), p. 64.

⁴⁷ Ungerer, II, pp. 257–258.

⁴⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D. 837, fols 37–38v. The Bodleian Library's Rawlinson MSS provide information on Atye's life at the university before his entrance into Leicester's retinue.

⁴⁹ Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571–1631) was an acquaintance of Atye; the secretary 'gave to Cotton all the Leicester papers that he knew to be in his possession' and that he deemed important to posterity. The rest of the papers, now at Rousham, were added to the collection of Sir John Dormer around 1612 by Judith Atye (1568–1618), the widow of Leicester's secretary. Judith has received no critical attention, but is an important conduit for Spanish-language materials within the Sidney circle. She was familiar at Wilton (Atye himself may have been acquainted with this household through his London neighbour Arthur Massinger, Pembroke's servant). Following Atye's death Judith married Dormer. Documents relating to Atye are found in 'MSS Letters, Elizabethan, etc., 1570–1630', together with some unbound papers. The volume was calendared in the *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (1874) at p. 82. Also see: Adams, 'The Papers of Robert Dudley', pp. 132, 139; Joan Hasler, 'Atye, Arthur (d. 1604), of London and Kilburn, Mdx.', in *The House of Commons, 1558–1603*, ed. by P. W. Hasler (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981), pp. 363–364.

⁵⁰ Simon Adams, 'The Outbreak of the Elizabethan Naval War Against the Spanish Empire: the Embargo of May 1585 and Sir Francis Drake's West Indies Voyage', in *England, Spain and the Gran Armada 1585–1604*, ed. by M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado and S. Adams (Edinburgh: Donald, 1991), pp. 45–70 (p. 45); T. S. Willian, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), pp. 188–190; Oxford, Christ Church College, MS Evelyn 155 and 248 (Barbary Company Records); London, British Library MS Additional 48084 and 48116 (letters from Leicester's agents in the Netherlands witnessed by Atye, reporting on the success of the English troops).

⁵¹ C. L. Kingsford, 'Essex House Formerly Leicester House and Exeter Inn', *Archaeologia*, LXXIII (1924), 1–54 (p. 38); London, British Library, MS Cotton Charter IV, f. 48v.

Leicester's secretariat was (not coincidentally) becoming more international.⁵² I will consider Atye again in my next chapter when I examine Antonio Perez's (1540–1611) *Pedacos de Historia o Relaciones* (1594), an English translation of which he produced as a component of an effort by Anthony Bacon (1558–1601) to forward the interests of Essex House. For now, I focus on how Atye's Spanish literacy and association with Oxford facilitated the establishment and maintenance of Antonio del Corro's career.

Even before the Earl left for the Low Countries, Atye managed his support for the growing Spanish expatriate community in England. A letter to Atye from Corro, a Spaniard who was dependent on Leicester's patronage throughout the 1580s, testifies to Atye's influence at an early stage in his secretarial career. The letter, which is signed 'your affectionate friend who will be of service, Antonio del Corro', was sent to Atye on 22 November 1579, and is written in a scrawled secretary hand entirely in Spanish.⁵³ Sent from within the Low Countries, the letter explains that Corro does not want to leave without paying due respect to Atye. He seeks to ingratiate himself with Atye, perhaps indicating Corro's perception that the secretary possessed nearly autonomous power over the management of Leicester's Spanish affairs.⁵⁴

Corro reminds Atye of the 'two occasions on which [he] promised to approach the Earl regarding the two bishops' (probably a reference to the ongoing efforts of Leicester House to establish the Spaniard in the English church). He thus characterises Atye as a key intermediary between himself and Leicester and the means through which he will be able to achieve his desired career.⁵⁵ The letter reports upon the scholarship being produced at 'this University'; Corro had recently been installed at the University of Oxford as *censor theologicus* but was writing from the Low Countries, so it is not clear whether he here refers to the University of Lausanne (where he spent time between 1558 and 1567) or to his new home in England.⁵⁶ The final sentences of the letter are particularly illustrative of the relationship between Atye, Corro and the University of Oxford, as it concludes: 'I am confident of the good of your University and I have no doubt of the importance of my correspondence and

⁵² By 1587 Leicester's secretariat included Jean Hotman de Villiers (1552–1536) as well as Richard Lloyd, Edward Downhall, John Hynd, Janius (Johan de Jonghe), 'Mr. Adrian, Mr. Glover, and Mr. Hyden'. London, British Library, MS Galba C VIII, f. 98v, provides a list of Leicester's household as of 21 July 1587.

⁵³ London, British Library Cotton MS Galba CV.I, vol. 2/2, f. 349. This letter is miscatalogued as f. 340. '*Su muy aficionado amigo que será de servicio, Antonio del Corro*'.

⁵⁴ '*Viendo que el se culpable y ya por esas partes no quise dejar pasar esta ocasion de saludar a U.m. [Usted...]*'. London, National Archives, SP 12/136, f. 76 is a letter from the Vice Chancellor of Oxford to Atye concerning Antonio del Corro, dated 28 March 1580, which indicates the extent to which Atye continued to manage Corro's career.

⁵⁵ London, British Library, MS Cotton, Galba CV.I, vol. 2/2, f. 349. '*Ser culpable y no ofender que yo le recuerde su promesa de acercarse al Conde con respecto a los dos obispos*'.

⁵⁶ Paul J. Hauben, *Three Spanish Heretics and the Reformation: Antonio Del Corro – Cassiodoro de Reina – Cypriano de Valera* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1967), p. 65.

our exchange. If for any reason you would like to employ me, I will be grateful to be of service'.⁵⁷ Although the offer to be of service is typical of Renaissance correspondence, it is also indicative of Corro's sense of the potential importance of the Spanish language to Leicester's affairs in the coming decade. His use of the term 'your University' substitutes Atye for Leicester, the actual Chancellor, and implies that, for the Spaniards whose correspondence he translated, Atye was perceived as a conduit through which one might establish a career as a foreign scholar at Oxford. By enabling Corro's career Atye facilitated the production of the first Spanish book, a language manual, printed in Elizabethan England, as the next section of this chapter shall show.

4. *Antonio del Corro's Dialogus Theologicus and Reglas gramaticales*

Circumstances in part produced by the conflict, like the prominence of a Spanish speaker in the Earl's retinue, led to Corro's installation at Oxford. Similarly, he might be seen to use specific diplomatic efforts undertaken by members of Leicester's secretariat to justify his last project, a guide to the Spanish language. Like the authors of the English-Spanish manuals produced in 1554, Corro's work reflects developing questions in English foreign policy, this time the expansion of the war in the Low Countries and the efforts of Henri of Navarre (1552-1610) to free Henri III (1551-1589) from the domination of the Guise and the Catholic league.⁵⁸ Unlike the works of 1554, Corro's manual included a dedication that contributes to the political positioning of his work.

Corro arrived in England as a Spanish expatriate and ex-clergyman in 1567, twenty years after he renounced Catholicism and left Spain to join the French court as a Spanish instructor.⁵⁹ Both Burghley and Leicester supported Corro as he became pastor to London's recently disenfranchised Protestant Spanish and Italian congregation.⁶⁰ Corro's career faltered; he was only briefly accepted as a clergyman in London due to persistent doubts about the orthodoxy of his views.⁶¹ Although he was not reprimanded for any doctrinal aberration, Corro lost many of his supporters in England, making him all the

⁵⁷ London, British Library, MS Cotton, Galba CV.I, vol. 2/2, f. 349. '*En toda mas estoy forma confiado de la buena Universidad de Usted y me tiene que no dudo de importencia con mis cartas y nuestros juegos. Si por cualquier motivo usted quisiera contratarme, yo sera agradecido de estar de servicio*'.

⁵⁸ Ian W. Archer, 'Palavicino, Sir Horatio (c.1540–1600)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21153>> [accessed 13 November 2012]

⁵⁹ Gordon Alexander, 'Corro, Antonio del (1527-1591)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6354>> [accessed 18 February 2011].

⁶⁰ For the political importance of London's stranger churches see: David Trim, 'Immigrants, the Indigenous Community and International Calvinism', in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. by Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), pp. 211–22 (p. 211); A. Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro De Reina: Spanish Reformer of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Tamesis, 1975), pp. 41, 48–55; Paul J. Hauben, 'A Spanish Calvinist Church in Elizabethan London, 1559–65', *Church History*, 34 (1965), 50–56.

⁶¹ Hauben, *Three Spanish Heretics*, p. 50.

more dependent on the Earl of Leicester. Elected to the Inner and Middle Temples as a reader of divinity in 1570, Corro published his *Dialogus Theologicus* in 1574, aligning himself with elements of Calvinist thought as well as, R. Ward Holder explains, Ramism.⁶² The 1575 English edition of *Dialogus* includes a warm dedication to Leicester, thanks the Earl for his consistent support and reaffirms Corro's Protestantism.⁶³ Corro expresses gratitude towards Leicester for defending him against the personal and doctrinal charges after listening to all accusations like 'great Alexander'.⁶⁴ The comparison between Leicester and Alexander the Great corresponds with Corro's own political inclinations, and his resistance to Spain and Catholicism; in the early 1570s the Earl was beginning to advocate for greater efforts to limit Spanish power within Europe. The Ridolfi plot in 1571 marked the beginning of an open breach with Spain that, for Leicester, added urgency to the question of the future of the Netherlands. During the winter of 1571/2 Elizabeth considered an alliance with France in support of Orange and Leicester wished to lead the embassy to sign an Anglo-French treaty to this effect.⁶⁵ As the Earl began to promote English opposition to Spain, it was perhaps particularly apt to compare him to Alexander the Great, whose conquest of Persia in 334 BC replaced one empire with another – not unlike the Elizabethan aspiration to surpass Spain in the Atlantic, the New World and the Low Countries.

Corro's *Reglas gramaticales para aprender la lengua española y francesa* (1586) became the first book printed in Spanish during Elizabeth's reign and had a significant impact on the study of the language in England.⁶⁶ New to printing, Joseph Barnes's (1549/50–1618) decision to publish Corro's *Reglas* was probably a response to an increasing interest in Spanish at the university.⁶⁷ The language guide was in fact better suited for the French market because, as John Thorie (b. 1568) would later explain, it 'was first written the greater part of it in Spanish, and a litle of the ende in French; in such manner that none could reape any benefit by reading of it, but such as were acquainted with both the

⁶² Hauben, *Three Spanish Heretics*, p. 57. For a complete explanation of the *Dialogus Theologicus*' literary elements, as well as its potential importance as a Ramist text, see: R. Ward Holder, *A Companion to Paul in the Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 418-19.

⁶³ Antonio del Corro, *A Theological Dialogue* (London: Thomas Purfoote, 1575), sig. d5v, STC (2nd ed.) 5786.

⁶⁴ Corro, *A Theological Dialogue*, sig. d4r.

⁶⁵ Simon Adams, 'Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8160>> [accessed 10 October 2012].

⁶⁶ Antonio del Corro, *Reglas gramaticales para aprender la lengua española y francesa* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586), STC (2nd ed.) 24568.

⁶⁷ Gustav Ungerer, 'The Printing of Spanish Books in Elizabethan England', *The Library*, XX (1965), 178-229 (pp. 177-78). Although the work was printed exclusively at Oxford, some of the editions appeared with a false Paris imprint and were probably sold on the continent as a means of increasing Barnes's return on his investment.

foresayd languages'.⁶⁸ The challenging format of Corro's work might have limited its appeal as only a small and multi-literate group could 'reape any benefit by reading it', but somewhat counter-intuitively it motivated English consideration of Spanish as various scholars sought to improve the text. A genealogy of early Spanish manuals printed in Elizabethan England links most in some way to *Reglas*, as I shall show, as authors like Thorie sought to improve upon the existing resource. This meant that Corro's guide inadvertently prompted a trend in Hispanic language studies at Oxford that gave rise to several of the manuals of the 1580s and 1590s; I shall return to these various responses to Corro in the next segment of this chapter.

Reglas is dedicated to Leicester's friend and occasional secretary, the Italian expatriate Horatio Palavicino (c. 1540–1600; knighted 1587). A political protégé of Leicester, Palavicino also worked to increase English intervention against Spain in the Low Countries.⁶⁹ Palavicino was employed from March 1586 to April 1587 on an embassy to the German princes to persuade them to levy troops to help free Henri III from the restraints of the Guise and the Catholic League.⁷⁰ The period from 1586 to 1590 saw Palavicino advocating for an alliance against Spain in the courts of France and Navarre.⁷¹ Corro brings parallels between Palavicino's campaign and his own experience as an opponent of Philip II in the court of Navarre to the fore; the dedicatory epistle describes the composition of the work during his time as a tutor to 'Rey Don Henrique de Navarra'.⁷² By implying the parallels between his past and Palavicino's contemporary campaign, Corro's epistle contextualises the language study relative to contemporary diplomatic concerns.⁷³ Corro characterises his manual as essential to the 'present business' and explains that

⁶⁸ Antonio del Corro, *The Spanish grammar*, trans. by John Thorius (London: John Wolfe, 1590), sig. A2v, STC (2nd ed.) 5790.

⁶⁹ Ian W. Archer, 'Palavicino, Sir Horatio (c.1540–1600)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21153>> [accessed 13 November 2012]. Also see: Lawrence Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), pp. 98–181.

⁷⁰ Roger J. Steiner notes that the 'grammar had been written for Henri IV of France when Antonio del Corro was Henry's Spanish tutor in 1560'. Ambrosio López Fernández elaborates on Steiner's observation, giving detailed evidence of the cultural background that led to Corro's French-Spanish grammar and dictionary, and arguing for its origins in the court of Navarre in 1559 and 1560. See: Ambrosio López Fernández, 'The Renaissance Environment of the First Spanish Grammar Published in Sixteenth-Century England', *Spanish and Portuguese Journal for the Study of the English Renaissance*, 7 (1996), 105–115 (p. 113); Roger J. Steiner, *Two Centuries of Spanish and English Bilingual Lexicography (1590–1800)* (Paris: Mouton, 1970), p. 15.

⁷¹ Ian W. Archer, 'Palavicino, Sir Horatio (c.1540–1600)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21153>> [accessed 13 November 2012].

⁷² Corro, *Reglas gramaticales*, sig. A4v. For more information on Corro's time at the court of Navarre see: Clare Asquith, 'Oxford University and Love's Labour's Lost', in *Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Dennis Taylor and David N. Beauregard (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), pp. 80–103; López Fernández, p. 105–15; C.M. Dent, *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1979).

⁷³ Corro, sig. *3r. 'Pues el curso de los presentes negocios así parece requerirlo, que persona tan dotada de singulares dones [...] sea constreñida de peregrinar por tierras ajenas, y aprender diversas lenguas [...]'].

contemporary travellers and diplomats must be skilled in many languages, amongst them, evidently, Spanish. The dedication of *Reglas* to Palavicino, like the dedication of his *Dialogus Theologicus* to Leicester, thus seems to reflect Corro's sympathy with diplomatic efforts designed to limit Spanish influence in Europe.

At least three other Spanish-literate scholars, whose work I consider over the next two chapters, used Corro's grammar as the impetus or even model from which to create English-Spanish guides as the conflict between the two nations grew. As mentioned above, some lexicographers cite the challenging format of Corro's work as their reason to produce an improved version of the guide, while others may merely have intended to capitalise on their access to Spanish speakers. In 1590 another Spanish-language dictionary was entered in the Stationers' Register, this time the work of Thomas D'Oylie, an academic who also served the Earl of Leicester as a secretary in the Low Countries during the 1580s.⁷⁴ D'Oylie's work was either never printed or does not survive, although elements of it were incorporated into Richard Perceval's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591), which is dedicated to the Earl of Essex and discussed in my next chapter.⁷⁵ D'Oylie was trained at the University of Oxford and continued to live as a scholar, studying medicine at the University of Basel and was finally incorporated MD at Oxford in 1592.⁷⁶ As with Atye, D'Oylie's importance to Leicester in the Low Countries was probably due to his fluency in Spanish; his now lost Spanish dictionary was registered with John Wolfe (d. 1601) on 19 October 1590, with notes as to both the extent of D'Oylie's work and his 'co[n]furence of Natyve Spaniardes', one of whom may have been Corro. My fourth chapter will explore the importance of the association of English texts with Spanish sources; for now the note is significant only in the extent to which it bears witness to the collaborative community of Spanish literate scholars that Leicester's patronage seems to have fostered at Oxford.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Helen Moore, 'D'Oylie, Thomas (c.1548–1603)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8009>> [accessed 2012 November 2012].

⁷⁵ Richard Perceval used many sources, claiming only 2,000 of the words in the dictionary as his own. He explains that he met Thomas D'Oylie at a fortuitous moment just before he published his dictionary, and that although D'Oylie had 'begunne a Dictionary in Spanish, English, and Latin' he saw that Perceval was 'more forward to the press than himself [and so] very friendly gave his consent to the publishing of [Perceval's], wishing [him] to adde the Latine as hee had begunne in his; which [he] performed, being not a little furthered therein by [D'Oylie's] advise and conference'. It is impossible to judge whether the Spanish-literate community at Oxford was in fact this supportive of one another's work or whether the presence of D'Oylie's lexicon in the Stationers' Register indicates an attempt to print his work before Perceval's; his work appears two months before that of his imitator. Edward Arber, *List Based on the Registers of the Stationers Company*, 4 vols (Birmingham: E. Arber, 1890), II, p. 565; Richard Percival, *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (London: John Jackson for Richard Watkins, 1591), sig. A3r, STC (2nd ed.) 19619.

⁷⁶ Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. by P. Bliss (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), I, p. 737.

⁷⁷ Arber, p. 565.

5. John Thorie's *The Spanish grammar*

In the same year that D'Oylie produced his dictionary, another Oxford Hispanist translated the *Reglas gramaticales*'s French sections into English to create *The Spanish grammar* (1590). Produced after the death of Leicester, Thorie's work is based upon Corro's manual and is attributed to the Spaniard. It is evidence of my claim that Corro's career at Oxford and his *Reglas* was the starting point of a series of English investigations of Spanish made by scholars associated with the university.⁷⁸ Thorie owes his primary literary reputation to his association with Gabriel Harvey (1552/3–1631) and Thomas Nashe's (bap. 1567, d. c.1601) infamous literary quarrel.⁷⁹ Harvey describes Thorie as 'the many-tongued Linguist', apparently referring to a copy of his *The Spanish grammar* as '*The Spanishe Counsellour Inglished*', and urging him not to 'forget [his...] traine under Him, that taught the Prince of Navarre, now the valorous king of Fraunce' (a witness itself to the efficacy of Corro's self-fashioning as Harvey transmits the same credentials that the Spaniard emphasised in his dedicatory epistle).⁸⁰ Evidently Thorie was uncomfortable with his association with Harvey; in *Have with you to Saffron-walden* (1596) Nashe writes, 'Of this John Thorius more sparingly I wil speake, because hee hath made his peace with mee, & there bee in him sundrie good parts of the Tungs and otherwise'.⁸¹ Steiner identified *The Spanish grammar* as the 'earliest existing specimen of Spanish and English bilingual lexicography', an assertion that has become a critical commonplace but that is disproved by the existence of *A very profitable boke* and *The boke of Englysshe, and Spanyshe*, discussed above.⁸² Nonetheless, Thorie's work represents the first bilingual Spanish-English dictionary and grammar created during Elizabeth's reign. The quarto is printed in three typefaces: Roman for Spanish words; black letter for English; and italic for French. This typographically highlights Spain's Roman heritage and the Germanic influences in English, and perhaps even evokes the French language's Latinate roots. In this way the printer, like Sidney, Harvey and Fraunce before him, negotiates the implications of various vernaculars' histories.

Thorie characterises the translation of the guide as a patriotic project for the explicit benefit of Englishmen, declaring:

⁷⁸ Howard Jones, 'Thorius, John (b. 1568)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27335>> [accessed 13 November 2012]

⁷⁹ Harvey appended several sonnets from Thorie to his *Pierces supererogation* (1593). He dedicated the work to Thorie along with Barnabe Barnes (whose foreign service under the Earl of Essex Harvey notes) and Anthony Chewt. Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces supererogation, or; A new prayse of the old Asse* (London: J. Wolfe, 1593), sigs. Ff2r–3v, STC (2nd ed.) 12903.

⁸⁰ Harvey, sig. A3v.

⁸¹ Thomas Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-walden* (London: John Danter, 1596), sig. Q3r, STC (2nd ed.) 18369.

⁸² Steiner, p. 15.

I beeing requested by divers, but especially mooved with love and affection toward my country men (beeing most ready at all times to undertake any labour to procure their ease, and imploy my dearest time to do them pleasure) have in such sort translated & altered this booke, that any English man may use it to his profite.⁸³

Thorie describes the acquisition of Spanish as profitable, and his work as a labour inspired by 'love and affection towards' fellow English speakers. Emphasising the relevance of his grammar to his 'country men', Thorie's project adds English to a guide that was already accessible to speakers of French or Spanish; by so doing he makes the manual specifically a tool for English speakers. Thorie again highlights the relevance of his project to his compatriots as he explains that 'any English man may use it to his profite'. Although the nature of this 'profite' is never defined, Thorie's explanation indicates that both he, and apparently 'divers' compatriots, see a benefit in the study of Spanish. Thorie's Anglocentric declaration may represent a (perhaps understandable) belief that a work printed in London would circulate predominantly to an English audience, yet it may be emblematic of a change in the study of Spanish in England after 1588; the English-Spanish manuals examined earlier in this chapter, printed in 1554, catered equally to Englishmen learning Spanish or Spaniards learning English. Although the contents of Thorie's guide are not obviously nationalist, this substantially re-characterises the project from a practical effort facilitating international exchange to a patriotic enterprise designed to facilitate English 'ease', 'pleasure' and 'profite'.

Thorie's dictionary gives detailed instructions on the pronunciation of every Spanish letter, which it describes as necessary because 'in the prolation of some of them, this tongue did greatly differ from all the other languages commonly spoken in Europ'.⁸⁴ Intended to instruct his readers, Thorie's description of England's enemy in opposition to 'all the other languages' uses a form of definition through contradistinction that characterises many early modern English depictions of Spain and Spanish observed in this dissertation. This aspect of the language also makes Thorie's manual essential as it would be impossible, according to this description, to learn Spanish through the study of a guide to Latin or another Latinate language. The linguistic relationship between Spanish and other European languages becomes a recurring theme, as Thorie later posits:

Some men marveile much why the Spanish tongue being descended from the Latine, hath gotten more letters than the Latine Spéech it selfe: Unto this I aunswere, that although the Spanish tongue in our time be corrupt & broken Latine: it was neverthelesse before derived from some other auncient language.

⁸³ Corro, *The Spanish grammar*, sig. A3v.

⁸⁴ Corro, *The Spanish grammar*, sig. B1v.

Besides, it hath sought letters to utter all the prolations which the instruments which God hath given man could articulate and pronounce.⁸⁵

The Spanish grammar places culpability for the present state of Spanish squarely on the shoulders of the Spaniards, explaining that they intentionally ‘sought letters to utter all the prolations’ – or pronunciations – possible. He thus depicts an aggressively expanding vernacular that, by adopting letters that do not occur in the classical languages, has corrupted its own association with Rome; although Spain now has letters to represent all ‘the instruments which God hath given man’, this has left it ‘corrupt and broken’ relative to Latin. While in the Renaissance ‘corrupt’ and ‘broken’ might each merely signify ‘impure’, ‘spoiled by base additions’ or ‘adulterated’, all possible interpretations have negative connotations.⁸⁶ Thorie’s description of ‘corrupt or broken Latine’ does not, therefore, leave room for his readers to suggest that this expanded alphabet might be an improvement to the language. The use of the word ‘prolation’ for pronunciation introduces a spiritual element to the otherwise apparently historico-political observation as it is a term specifically associated with religious texts.⁸⁷ Thorie’s assertion that while Spanish is based in Latin it ‘was neverthelesse before derived from some other ancient language’ denigrates its classical roots, equating it with hybrid vernaculars like English. Thorie never identifies what this ‘other’ ancient language might be, but comments he makes indicate it might be the less classical Arabic, distancing it from the learning early modern Englishmen associated with Greek and Latin. By diminishing the linguistic connections between Latin and Spanish, Thorie calls into question the Iberian manifest destiny that made Spain the natural imperial successor to Rome. Instead, Spanish is treated as a language composed of elements of Latin, but which has distanced itself from its classical heritage through avarice and linguistic overreaching, finally leaving the language in its modern state. Thus, through his translation of Corro’s French into English, Thorie characterises Spanish as a language that Englishmen might acquire but diminishes its inherent power. Although not directed at any specific political figure like Corro’s *Reglas*, Thorie’s *Spanish grammar* undermines the inheritance of the Spanish language in a manner that might reflect Elizabethans’ interest in limiting the ever-expanding influence of Spain.

⁸⁵ Corro, *The Spanish grammar*, sig. B1v.

⁸⁶ ‘broken, adj.’, *OED Online*, 2014 <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/23637>> [accessed 2014 August 22]; ‘corrupt, adj.’, *OED Online*, 2014 <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/42034?rskey=vXQ7JU&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 22 August 2014].

⁸⁷ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* the word was used throughout the early modern period to mean ‘the action of uttering a word or sound’ and ‘the sending out or emission of the divine Word or Logos’. See: ‘prolation, n.’, *OED Online*, 2012 <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/152308?redirectedFrom=prolations>> [accessed 28 November 2012]; Edinburgh, Advocates Library, MS 18, 2, 8, f. 235v; Thomas Cranmer, *Remains*, ed. by Henry Jenkyns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), III, p. 368.

Leicester's direct involvement with Spanish language guides was short-lived but substantial. His support, via Atye, of Corro's career at Oxford - where the Spaniard composed the Spanish-French *Reglas gramaticales* - encouraged a trend in Anglo-Spanish study at the university that led to D'Oylie's now lost book and Thorie's translation and reissue of Corro's work in *The Spanish grammar*. These guides were produced at a moment of increased tensions between England and Spain and at the height of Leicester's political investment in the outcome of English efforts in the Low Countries. Where Corro's works may correlate with diplomatic projects undertaken by members of Leicester's retinue, Thorie's guide is in many ways surprisingly disengaged from the conflict; printed two years after the Armada, its lexicon lists no translation for the words 'battle', 'sea', 'ship' or even 'navy'.⁸⁸ Noting the potential 'profite' associated with Spanish - perhaps a reference to the value of Iberian trade - Thorie's grammar describes the Spanish language in terms that might reassure his English reader, distancing it from its classical inheritance and Spain's contemporary imperial aspirations. Where in 1554 lexicons and grammars depict a range of possible futures to which the marriage of two monarchs might lead, those of the late 1580s correlate with particular courtiers' political perspectives or reflect the anxiety regarding the imperial inheritance of Spain, as we see in Corro's dedication to Palavicino and Thorie's explanation of the relationship between Spanish and Latin. The Earl of Leicester was not the only courtier associated with the production of Anglo-Spanish guides; Robert Cecil (1563-1612; created Earl of Salisbury 1605) and the Earl of Essex, both councillors who shaped Elizabeth's foreign policy, would later also be dedicatees of English-Spanish phrasebooks. In the next section I will show that these subsequent Spanish manuals were as politically conscious as those associated with the Earl of Leicester, reflecting English suspicions of Spain as they respond to the uncertainty produced by the conflict.

6. William Stepney's The Spanish Schoole-master

Leicester's foreign policy is often set in contrast with that of William Cecil, first Baron Burghley (1520-1598), his son Robert Cecil and Elizabeth herself.⁸⁹ Although language manuals were associated with Leicester at the end of the 1580s, by 1588 the Earl had died and authors interested in exploring the relationship between English and other languages

⁸⁸ Corro, *The Spanish grammar*, sigs. A1r-S3v. *The Spanish grammar* is followed by a dictionary which begins signature numbers with 'A' but follows this immediately with 'S'.

⁸⁹ Simon Adams, 'Favourites and Factions at the Elizabethan Court', *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 46-67 (pp. 49-57). Also see: Ben Lowe, 'Religious Wars and the "Common Peace": Anglican Anti-War Sentiment in Elizabethan England', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 28 (2002), 415-435 (p. 420); Alzada J. Tipton, "'Lively Patterns. For Affayres of State": Sir John Hayward's the Life and Reigne of King', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33 (2002), 769-794 (p. 781); John Hale, 'War and Public Opinion in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Past & Present*, 22 (1962), 18-35 (p. 23).

had to look elsewhere for patronage. By 1591 William Stepney dedicated his *The Spanish Schoole-master* ‘to the Very Illustrious Knight Sir Robert Cecil, younger son of Lord Burghley’, thus producing another example of a guide to an enemy’s vernacular dedicated to a prominent advisor.⁹⁰ Stepney’s manual’s focus on commercial vocabulary is reminiscent of the language manuals of 1554.⁹¹ Returning to the earlier tendency to imagine a range of relationships between the English and Spanish, Stepney’s guide covers subjects from the religious to the mercantile.

In January 1591 ‘Master John Harrison the elder’ entered *The Spanish Schoole-master* in the Stationers’ Register.⁹² Stepney complains that travel abroad delayed the creation of his work; by 1591, it is already late ‘to frame a Grammar’, he says, for one had already been completed and ‘very exquisitely performed’ – presumably by D’Oylie, Thorie or Perceval.⁹³ Yet Stepney’s manual is innovative; it is the first to use idioms as a means to teach Spanish, although the format was typical of English instruction in other languages. James Sanforde (fl. 1567–1582) includes ‘certayne Italian proverbs’ in his translation of *The garden of pleasure*.⁹⁴ John Florio’s *Fruits* (1578) also claims to provide its reader with proverbs to study.⁹⁵ Many of the same adages included in these works had already been circulating as part of Latin language guides for decades.⁹⁶ In this way, Stepney’s guide regularises the study of Spanish, treating the language as akin to Latin or Italian.

Stepney’s dedicatory epistle explains that ‘in future age the Spanish tongue will be as well esteemed as the French or the Italian tongue, and [...] is farre more necessary for our countrey-men then the Italian tongue’.⁹⁷ His direction of the work to ‘our countrey-men’ indicates that the manual is intended for Englishmen learning Spanish (rather than for Spaniards who might want to speak English). He does not explain why Spanish is ‘more

⁹⁰ For the debate surrounding the military conflict against Spain and in the Low Countries see: Alexandra Gajda, ‘Debating War and Peace in Late Elizabethan England’, *The Historical Journal*, 52 (2009), 851–878; Paul E. J. Hammer, *Elizabeth’s Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544–1604* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Simon Adams, ‘Faction, Clientage and Party: English Politics, 1550–1603’, in *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 13–24; Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: the Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex 1585–1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁹¹ *The Marchants aviso* (1589), a manual for merchants engaged in overseas trade, produced by the Bristol-based John Browne and reprinted at least three times before 1592, indicates that an appetite existed for this type of work.

⁹² Arber, p. 573.

⁹³ Leo Wiener, ‘Spanish Studies in England, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *The Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature*, 2 (1899), 3–10 (p. 5); William Stepney, *The Spanish Schoole-master* (London: R. Field for John Harison, 1591), sig. A4r, STC (2nd ed.) 23256.

⁹⁴ Lodovico Guicciardini, *The garden of pleasure containinge most pleasante tales, worthy deeds and witty sayings of noble princes*, trans. by James Sanforde (London: Henry Bynneman, 1573), sig. D5v, STC (2nd ed.) 1069.02.

⁹⁵ Florio, sig. *3v.

⁹⁶ Adam Foxe, *Oral and Literary Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 120. Also see: Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1965).

⁹⁷ Stepney, sig. A4v.

necessary' for the English, yet his declaration itself imagines a future in which Englishmen will have cause to use their enemy's vernacular; whether Stepney expects a future in which trade with Spain has resumed, in which Spanish is culturally as important as French and Italian or in which the Armada has successfully invaded is not specified. The esteem that a 'future age' will ascribe to Spanish is ominously paired, however, with the fact that, for Stepney, it is a necessity.⁹⁸ The omission of Spain from the list of languages currently esteemed in England leads Stepney's reader to consider the complex present political situation, however, even before the tense of Stepney's prose changes and he explains that contemporary circumstances make Spanish 'farre more necessary' for Englishmen than Italian.

Stepney's manual is composed of seven dialogues, a series of proverbs, useful prayers, sentences (most in the form of riddles) and a 'vocabulary' or dictionary. Its litany of moral advice at times endorses an irenic impulse that might correspond with his dedication of the work to Robert Cecil. Stepney declares:

Three things are pleasant before God and men.

1. Concord betweene brethren.
2. Friendship among neighbours.
3. Man and wife which keepe companie and loyaltie together.⁹⁹

The passage endorses peace above all things, emphasising 'concord between brethren' and 'friendship among neighbours' as godly, and thus corresponds with an anti-war sentiment that had typified the political leanings of Burghley's household for decades.¹⁰⁰ Although the adage provides guidance for individuals, its presence in a work inspired by the necessity of Spanish to contemporary life in England juxtaposes these interpersonal values with contemporary foreign relations. Far from depicting a specific future of Anglo-Spanish relations, the tone of the passage is emblematic of Stepney's manual's return to some of the themes of 1554, when Spanish was characterised as a tool of trade, religion and friendship as well as diplomacy and conflict.

At times Stepney's idioms seem to have relevance to contemporary concerns in the Low Countries. As mentioned above, many of these were typical of early modern language manuals and quite formulaic, yet at times they seem to resonate with the Anglo-Spanish

⁹⁸ 'esteem, v.', *OED Online*, 2014

<<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/64565?rskey=bbQTtn&result=2&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 14 November 2014].

⁹⁹ Stepney, sigs M3v–4v.

¹⁰⁰ Pauline Croft, 'Cecil, Robert, first earl of Salisbury (1563–1612)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4980>> [accessed 06 August 2012].

political reality. In one instance a series of sentences explains that there are four things that ‘a man cannot lend well’:

1. A good horse.
2. A wise woman that loveth her husband.
3. A faithfull servant that loveth his master.
4. A good sword, and weapons for the warre.¹⁰¹

The list might recall recent English policy in the Low Countries to its readers; with the Treaty of Nonsuch in August 1585 the States General of the Low Countries had agreed that Elizabeth would provide the Dutch with an expeditionary force of 6,350 foot and 1,000 cavalry soldiers, on the condition that her nominee, the Earl of Leicester, would be put in both military and political charge of the country.¹⁰² Since then English resources had been sent from England to the Low Countries to fight Spain, as Elizabeth had quite literally lent not only ‘weapons for the warre’ but also good horses and faithful servants to the Dutch. The manual thus includes proverbial advice contradictory to Elizabeth’s foreign policy. While Stepney’s manual, and the passage itself, takes no single overt or covert political stance, the relevance of the advice to the conflict in a manual whose very subject, the English and Spanish languages, calls to mind one of the primary questions of English foreign policy, might be difficult for Stepney’s students to ignore.

Although Stepney’s manual offers advice that seems to equivocate upon the escalation of conflict and in some ways imagines the utility of a vocabulary of peace between England and Spain, it is simultaneously rife with images that represent more hawkish concerns as well. Steiner highlights instances in which Stepney’s dictionary provides entire vocabulary lists that might create a negative impression of any future that incorporates Spaniards into England.¹⁰³ Included in one such list are the Spanish terms for ‘a theefe, theeverie, a murderer, a ravisher, to ravish a mayden, a cutpurse’.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps the most disconcerting sentence the guide provides is ‘*tiene la cabeça enarbolada sobre la puente de Londres*’, which the manual translates as ‘he hath his head upon London bridge’.¹⁰⁵ Although the creation of guides that implicitly facilitate communication with Spaniards seems counterintuitive at a moment when Anglo-Spanish relations were at their most fraught, these texts gave their authors a medium in which to imagine the hopes and concerns that circulated in England regarding future interactions with Spain and Spaniards.

¹⁰¹ Stepney, sig. M6v.

¹⁰² R. B. Wernham, *Before the Armada, the Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485–1588* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966), p. 371.

¹⁰³ Steiner, p. 37.

¹⁰⁴ Stepney, sig. Q7v.

¹⁰⁵ Stepney, sig. Q8v.

Stepney's concern that his manual appears 'late' might look back both to Thorie and Corro's guides but also to political events like the increasing English presence in the Low Countries and the Armada, while elements of his pamphlet seems to look forward to English interactions with Spanish merchants in an era in which conflict might be eschewed. The guide expresses a paired hopefulness and distaste for war that broadly corresponds to Stepney's dedicatee's long standing political agenda but never subscribes to a definitive political stance.

Preceding Stepney's 'proverbs' he includes 'dialogues', some of which I have identified as modified versions of those that appeared in 1554 in *A very profitable boke*. In these cases, Stepney's manual depicts a close relationship between English and Spanish speakers. In the text's fourth dialogue, which takes place between 'Marke' and 'Mathew', Stepney's manual reproduces 'The feast of ten persons' of *A very profitable boke*, although he at times diverges from his model to increase the familiarity of the relationship scripted by the text. The striking similarities in their content and trajectory indicates that *A very profitable boke* informs Stepney's work or that they share a common source, yet despite such similarities, differences ensue: in *A very profitable boke* John declares he has not yet eaten breakfast as it is too early; in Stepney's manual Marke has not yet eaten as it is too early, but Mathew declares he expected Marke to have breakfasted as 'it is the use of divers dames in London, to breake their fast in their beds, and when they have well broken their fasts, they will lye downe againe and sleepe upon it, [he] thought [Marke] had observed this newe custome'.¹⁰⁶ By adding this detail, which teases that Marke sleeps after breakfast (in a manner particular to the women of London), Stepney depicts a jovial if combative relationship between the Englishman and the Spaniard that is not suggested by *A very profitable boke* in 1554.

As the dialogue proceeds, *A very profitable boke* moves the conversation to further useful phrases for a language student ('Whither go you?' 'What is a clocke?'). Stepney's manual eventually recreates this entire dialogue, but first develops upon the banter it imagines between its speakers. After the suggestion that Marke might have breakfasted in bed, the conversation continues:

Ha ha ha: the Devill take thee, how pleasant thou art.
Wherefore doest thou laugh hedgehogge?

¹⁰⁶ Stepney, sigs. E7v-8v.

I laugh to heare thee deale in womens matters, but now I pray thee tell me how though commest so well experimented in this arte?¹⁰⁷

Mathew explains that lazy women cannot be trusted and Marke accuses him of cuckoldry, again perhaps imagining a close and teasing friendship between speakers of English and Spanish (although, admittedly, far from a fully cordial relationship). By elaborating upon *A very profitable booke* Stepney's manual depicts a range of future Anglo-Spanish interactions and goes so far as to script laughter between the two speakers as 'Ha ha ha'. In 1554 the answer to 'Ask you from whens I come?' is 'Out of the schoole, out of the churche, out of the market'. In 1591 this becomes 'I come from Church, from the market, from home, from Westminster, from the Exchange'.¹⁰⁸ While *A very profitable booke* depicts the integration of Spaniards into English life (and uses the conversation as a means of teaching place nouns), Stepney adapts the manual to depict the Spaniard as present throughout all elements of social and professional life by adding further local detail as to the kinds of places a merchant would inhabit including 'Westminster [...and] the Exchange' to the series. The Exchange had been built in the interim between 1554 and 1591; its presence in the list makes the guide contemporary as well as local. This detail localises the work to London as no Spanish alternatives are given to these very specific English places.

At times during the conversation Stepney exactly recreates *A very profitable booke*, changing only the names of the speakers; in one example, the manual recreates a conversation scripted in *A very profitable booke* in which two speakers refer to each other as 'cousin'. The cordial term might have been appropriate in 1554 but is surprisingly familiar just a few years after the Spanish Armada, indicating either that some of the phrases Stepney copies without adapting them to the political realities of 1591 or that he indeed saw potential for Anglo-Spanish relations to improve substantially.¹⁰⁹ The fact that a manual that reflects the marriage of Philip and Mary inspired the production of a similar study at the height of the Anglo-Spanish conflict indicates the extent to which the guide itself, more than the specific phrases it enumerates, might serve as a response to the developments in English foreign policy. Whether in peace or war, early modern Spanish speakers seem to have capitalised on public interest created by political circumstances through the creation of guides to the Spanish vernacular. By dedicating his work to the reputedly pacifist Cecil, Stepney in some ways prepares his reader for the surprisingly familiar relationship he imagines with Spaniards, demonstrating how the apparently similar language manuals produced at the end of the sixteenth century might subtly reflect the

¹⁰⁷ Stepney, sig. E8v.

¹⁰⁸ *A very profitable booke*, sigs. A3r-A3v; Stepney, sig. F2v.

¹⁰⁹ *A very profitable booke*, sig. A5v; Stepney, sig. E4v.

partisan politics of court, both through their content and their dedications. Stepney's guide, which vacillates between negative phrases, pacifist adages, and cordial dialogues, is particularly evocative of an anxious English political outlook that desired peace and prosperity but was unsure about a future relationship with Spain.

7. *John Eliot's Ortho-epia Gallica*

Like the other works examined in this chapter, John Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica: Eliots fruits for the French* contains example conversations that reflect elements of English sentiment regarding Spain. The manual may seek to capitalise, I argue, on Leicester's association with eminent language guides, and perhaps also his son's hawkish anti-Spanish interests - and thus the contemporary political environment - through its dedication to 'Robert Dudley'.¹¹⁰ Consistent with a tendency I have observed in grammars and lexicons printed after the Armada to signal the political relevance of their work through dedications to outspoken courtiers, the association of *Ortho-epia* with Dudley foreshadows its reflections on aspects of the Anglo-Spanish conflict, that might otherwise be surprising to find in a guide to French.

Eliot produced four books concerned with France in London between 1589 and 1593.¹¹¹ Besides the *Ortho-epia*, only one of his other works, *Discourses of Warre* (1591), contains a dedication, this time to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, whose efforts to assert himself as the Earl of Leicester's political heir were just beginning. This dedication, and that of the *Ortho-epia* to Dudley, contextualises the work that it precedes in terms of the growing Anglo-Spanish conflict and the partisan politics of the court. In her 1931 article 'The Importance of John Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica*', Frances Yates identifies a number of

¹¹⁰ Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica*, sig. A2r. 'Al molto Nobile é Mag. Sig. il Signor, Roberto Dudleio'. Eliot's work conformed to Dudley's maritime interests; around 1591 Dudley married Margaret (d. 1595), daughter of Richard Cavendish, whose sister was married to Richard Hakluyt and whose cousin was the navigator Thomas Cavendish. Dudley became focused on travel and going to sea, sailing to the West Indies in 1595 and by 1596 participating in the Earl of Essex's campaign in Cadiz (where he was knighted). The only other work apparently dedicated to this Robert Dudley is Michael Drayton's (1563–1631) *Idea the shepheards garland* (1593). It is unclear why 1593 would have seen this small proliferation of works dedicated to Robert Dudley as well as the production of a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard. See: Simon Adams, 'Dudley, Sir Robert (1574–1649)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8161>> [accessed 15 November 2012]; *The Voyage of Robert Dudley, Afterwards Styled Earl of Warwick and Leicester and Duke of Northumberland to the West Indies, 1594–1595*, ed. by George F. Warner (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1967); Stockholm National Museum, N. Hilliard, miniature, c. 1593; Michael Drayton, *Idea the shepheards garland. Fashioned in nine eglogs. Rowlands sacrifice to the nine Muses* (London: T. Orwin for Thomas Woodcock, 1593), sig. A2v, STC (2nd ed.) 7202.

¹¹¹ These were: John Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica: Eliots Fruits for the French* (London: John Wolfe, 1593), STC (2nd ed.) 7574; John Eliot, *The suruay or topographical description of France: with a new mappe, helping greatly for the surveying of every particular country, cittye, fortresse, riuer, mountaine, and forrest therein* (London: John Wolfe, 1592), STC (2nd ed.) 7575; Bertrand de Loque, *Discourses of Warre and single Combat*, trans. by J. Eliot (London: John Wolfe, 1591), STC (2nd ed.) 16810; *Advise, giuen by a Catholike gentleman, to the nobilitie & commons of France, to joyne together, and take armes speedily (by commandement of the King) against theeves and robbers*, trans. by John Eliot (London: John Wolfe, 1589), STC (2nd ed.) 11256.

instances in which Eliot appears to imitate the lexicographical works of John Florio. She explains:

If we look at the title-page of the *Ortho-epia* we find: [‘]Ortho-epia Gallica ELIOTS FRUITS for the French[’]; with ‘Eliot’s Fruits’ given in the largest type. Was this meant to recall ‘Florio’s First Fruits’ and ‘Florio’s Second Fruits’? Turning over Eliot’s title-page we next find a dedicatory epistle in Italian. The dedication is: [‘]Al molto Nobile e MagCo Sigre il Signor Roberto Dudleio[’]. Florio had dedicated his First Fruits to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. His dedication also had been in Italian[...] I cannot help thinking that Eliot might have deliberately chosen a ‘Roberto Dudleio’.¹¹²

Eliot’s unusual decision to write an Italian dedication (for a work written in English and French) supports Yates’s theory that the *Ortho-epia* intentionally harkens back to Florio’s earlier work. Readers may even have consulted Florio’s guide in order to read Eliot’s dedication. Yet just as Eliot’s dedication evokes Florio, it also calls to mind the dedicatee’s name sake (and the patron of Florio’s work), the Earl of Leicester, his patronage of language learning material and importance to English interventions against Spanish influence in Europe.¹¹³ The dedication foreshadows the depictions of Spain the *Ortho-epia Gallica* includes, many of which seem designed to spur English distrust or resentment of their enemy.

Eliot’s sample dialogues consider the political outcomes of Spain’s exportation of gold from the Americas. He reports: ‘In Spaine the cheefe citie [is] Sivillia, the warehouse of the Indias, for the diverseittie of merchandise that men bring thither’.¹¹⁴ The *Ortho-epia* considers how the Spanish collection of American gold affected the power dynamics of Europe:

Where keepes king Philip his court?
For the most part at Madril, or at the Esquireal, where he hath built the most
magnificent pallace of all Europe, being the dwelling house of the Catholike king,
and tis the fairest building that I ever saw in my life.
In your mind then, it is the most goodly, stateliest, and sumptuous building that a
man can imagine? [...] By your reckoning the Pallace of the Pope, of the Cardinall
Medicis, and many other in Rome are nothing comparable to this?
Tis a hundred times more magnificent than those, or any other in Italy, name as
many as you will.

¹¹² F. Yates, ‘The Importance of John Eliot’s *Ortho-epia Gallica*’, *The Review of English Studies*, 7 (1931), 419–430 (p. 429).

¹¹³ Gabriel Harvey identified Eliot’s manual as a resource ‘for French and Spanish’ on the title page of his volume, now held at the Huntington Library.

¹¹⁴ Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica*, sig. I2v.

Surely this pallace is a terrestriall paradice, such as promiseth Mahomet in his Alcoran to his musselmans.¹¹⁵

A discussion of palaces thus proposes a hierarchy of wealth of various authority figures across Europe. Eliot explains that Philip's loyalty is to his filial Hapsburg empire and to Catholicism; 'the Esquireal', or El Escorial, was a Spanish palace constructed from 1559, in part as a monument to Spain's role in the Christian world and as a mausoleum for all the Spanish kings and queens regnant following Charles I.¹¹⁶ Eliot's speakers consider the nature of the building as one asks whether it is not 'goodly, stateliest, and sumptuous'. The example phrase develops the image of the splendour of Spain, then moves quickly to juxtapose this success with that of other nations and powers, as manifest in their palaces.

The 'dwelling house of the Catholike king' is described as 'a hundred times more magnificent than [the Palace of the Pope, of the Cardinall Medicis], or any other in Italy'. The wealth of Spain is thus described through contrast with these other Catholic powers. A reference to Mohammed ('Surely this palace is a terrestriall paradice, such as promiseth Mahomet in his Alcoran to his musselmans') implies sympathy between contemporary Spain and its Moorish past as Eliot's speaker declares that 'surely' the Escorial is reminiscent of various images from the Koran. The Spanish relationship with the Moors was far from clear to Englishmen; Harvey's annotation in his copy of Francis Billerbeg's *Most rare and straunge discourses, of Amurathe the Turkish emperor* (1585) identifies a 'peace concluded between King Phillip and the great Turke', in an effort to understand the relationship between Spain and Islam.¹¹⁷ Eliot's dialogue thus uses the wealth of Spain as a starting point of an example-dialogue that touches upon various political realities faced by modern Spain. Having surpassed the wealth (and perhaps power) of its Catholic counterparts (at least in Italy), Spain had an association with the Moors that vacillated throughout history. Extending this discussion to an assessment of the Spanish navy, which Eliot specifies 'hath more then twentie ships which come home every yeare from the ysles of Perles, from Peru, from Mexico and the Canibals, laden with lingots of gold and silver, pearles and stones, and raw silke in great quantitie', Eliot appeals to an interest of Dudley, who led campaigns against the Spanish West Indies Fleet in the Atlantic throughout the 1590s. While Eliot's discussion of Spanish wealth might merely be intended as a dialogue that might be useful in either English or French, its presence in a manual dedicated to the

¹¹⁵ Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica*, sig. I3r.

¹¹⁶ Mary Crawford Volk, 'Building the Escorial by Greoge Kubler', *The Art Bulletin*, 69 (1987), 150-53; George Kubler, *Building the Escorial* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

¹¹⁷ Franciscus de Billerbeg, *Most rare and straunge discourses, of Amurathe the Turkish emperor* (London: J. Charlewood for Thomas Hackett, 1584), STC (2nd ed.) 3060, Houghton Library EC H2623 Zz584t.

sometime-privateer Dudley infuses it with the tension of the underlying political concerns. While Eliot does not reflect upon the wealth of England relative to Spain here, by describing Spanish palaces through contradistinction with those of other powers he encourages comparison, perhaps inviting his reader to consider what steps might be necessary against the Spanish fleet.

Eliot's discussion of piracy in the Atlantic becomes even more overt during a dialogue relaying 'newes' from Europe. In conversation a speaker asks, 'what newes in Fraunce'; the respondent replies, 'None that I can tell, still warre, warre', but goes on to elaborate that 'they talke of the great Carricke which our English tooke the other day of the Spaniards, coming from the East Indies'.¹¹⁸ Yet rather than pausing at this English victory, Eliot moves quickly on to further examine the Anglo-Spanish dynamics, this time in terms of game play and competition through cards. He turns to discussion of a game called 'Spanish Triumph', which apparently is a 'verie common alehouse game in England'.¹¹⁹ Reminiscent of *The booke of Englysshe, and Spanysse*'s conflation of 'warres, bataylles and players', Eliot reduces English piracy and naval victories to the frivolity of cards.¹²⁰

Eliot's language manual ends, somewhat abruptly, in praise of Sidney. A poem is presented as Sidney's epitaph, although he is not mentioned elsewhere in the manual. Part of a dialogue discussing the people buried in St Paul's Cathedral, it serves to further attach Eliot's guide to Leicester's political legacy. It declares:

England, Netherland, the Heavens, and the Arts,
The Souldiors, and the World, have made six parts
Of the noble Sydney: for none will suppose,
That a small heape of stones can Sydney enclose.
His body hath England, for she it bred,
Netherland his blood, in her defence shed:
The Heavens have his soule, the Arts have his fame,
All Souldiors the greefe, the World his good name.¹²¹

Sidney becomes both a symbol of England and a means through which the English may influence 'the World'. A conversation preceding the poem juxtaposes Sidney with 'Seba

¹¹⁸ Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica*, sig. D2r. Here Eliot's speakers may refer to the English capture of the Portuguese ship Madre de Dios in August 1592, under the leadership of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605) and Sir Walter Raleigh (1554-1618) near Flores Island in the Azores. See: *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ed. by Agnes Latham and Joyce Youings (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1999), p. 78.

¹¹⁹ Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica*, sig. G3r. Eliot's games take a political turn as the speakers play the 'Lance-knights game' in which there is 'a dame without blame [...] and a king without a kingdome', likely a reference to the alliance between Queen Elizabeth and the Prince of Orange. The game is most notably referred to by William Shakespeare in *Antony and Cleopatra* (IV.xiv.18).

¹²⁰ *The booke of Englysshe and Spanysse*, sig. D4r.

¹²¹ Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica*, sig. X2v.

king of Saxons' and 'John of Gant duke of Lancaster', describing him as 'the peerelesse paragon of letters and arms'.¹²² The poem seems misplaced in Eliot's French-language guide; according to the verse, the French are one of the few nations with no stake in Sidney's death. The Spanish are also not included in the poem, yet as mentioned earlier, evidence indicates that in the late 1580s and 1590s mention of Sidney might be evocative of the idea of English support for Dutch independence; Eliot's declaration that the 'Netherlands [have] his blood, in her defence shed' supports this reading.¹²³ The language manual thus becomes a medium through which Eliot considers England's relationship with a range of European nations. His reflections on Spain are almost exclusively concerned with amassing wealth and the trade of resources. Although Eliot never advocates English piracy, his guide hints at its own relevance to English campaigns against Philip II by invoking the names of Robert Dudley and Philip Sidney. Eliot's dedicatee, Dudley, was slowly developing an interest in English naval resistance to Spanish shipping in the Atlantic, a military stance that corresponds with Eliot's detailed discussion of Spain's trade with its colonies.¹²⁴ The concluding sonnet evoking Sidney again appeals to a partisan faction of Elizabeth's court as it illustrates the international importance of defending the Low Countries against the expanding power of Spain. Eliot's work suggests that Leicester's name was perceived to have currency even after his death, perhaps both for its association with language guides and with resistance to Spanish hegemony. The *Ortho-epia* demonstrates how language guides might be used to reflect upon contemporary developments in English foreign policy and how the political perspective of these texts might be conveyed through the invocation of the names of politically significant courtiers.

Conclusion

This chapter has charted the ways that guides to the Spanish vernacular reflect emerging English hostility towards Spain. Furthermore, it has contended that dictionaries and grammars invoke the names of powerful politicians as a means of extending their relevance to contemporary political concerns. Leicester had a reputation as a patron of language learning manuals and dictionaries. In the later part of his career, he was also known to support diplomatic, as well as increasingly martial, campaigns to reduce Spanish power on

¹²² Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica*, sig X2v.

¹²³ Simon Adams, 'Dudley, Sir Robert (1574–1649)'. In reality, Robert Dudley was perhaps the greatest potential beneficiary of Sidney's death; the demise of his cousin added significance to his claim as heir to the Earl of Leicester and led to long-term legal battles against Sir Robert Sidney, who saw himself as the natural heir of both Leicester and the Earl of Warwick. It is unlikely that Dudley, who became increasingly invested in establishing himself as his father's heir over the course of the 1590s, would have overlooked the significance of Eliot's enumeration of the beneficiaries of Sidney's death.

¹²⁴ See footnote 117.

the European continent and the threat they posed to England itself. The Earl's developing status as both a patron and a politician within Elizabeth's court placed his retinue in a position to create language guides that reflect the politics of Leicester House and perhaps simultaneously serve as tools through which Elizabethans could learn the language of their enemy as they contemplated the potential for war.

Two language manuals printed in 1554 demonstrate how a major political event between England and Spain, the marriage of Mary I to Philip, initiated the production of the first two Anglo-Spanish language guides. The example dialogues these works include imagine the various relationships that could result from the match. After Elizabeth's accession, the Earl of Leicester patronised Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus*, which became the first of many language manuals he would sponsor. At the same time, he developed a secretariat of scholars fluent in a range of European languages. Amongst these were the Spanish speakers Atye, Corro, and D'Oyly. Together these scholars produced language guides and energised Anglo-Spanish study. Their efforts, paired with the rising tensions between England and Spain, coincided with the proliferation of Anglo-Spanish guides, grammars, and lexicons, many of which depict specific political perspectives and which imagine, through their very existence, interactions between Englishmen and Spaniards (or at least the Spanish language).

Outside Leicester's retinue, William Stepney's *The Spanish Schoole-master*, dedicated to Robert Cecil, offers a further example of how the work of linguists and printers might reflect the growing English anxiety towards Spain in guides to their vernacular. John Eliot's *Ortho-epia: Eliots fruits for the French*, dedicated to Robert Dudley, is a guide to French yet it reflects a particular English perspective, interested in the perceived threats and the courtiers that could drive England towards war. This latter seems to acknowledge a legacy of the Earl of Leicester as it dedicates a politically frank language guide to his namesake and son whose hawkishness equalled or surpassed that of his father. In my next chapter, I will consider Richard Perceval's *Bibliotheca Hispanica*. The *Bibliotheca Hispanica* crystallises the observations made in this chapter as it both reflects contemporary political concerns about the threat posed to England by Spanish ambition and capitalises upon the growing reputation of the Earl of Essex, whose hawkishness was just beginning to emerge in the early 1590s.

Chapter IV:

Imagining the Earl of Essex's Past and Future Roles in Elizabeth's War with Spain

Anti-Spanish propaganda produced in the 1590s often depicts Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (1565–1601) as an essential mediator of the Anglo-Spanish conflict. Both works encouraged by members of his retinue and apparently those produced without his solicitation promote this image of the Earl.¹ Although fundamentally concerned with the threat posed by Spain, these works use the conflict to imagine the Earl and the trajectory of his burgeoning career. While Essex participated in several dramatic military engagements, I argue that these episodes punctuated a campaign of aggression and self-promotion that was essentially literary. Essex spent his fraught political life desperately trying to escalate the conflict between England and Spain. Having inherited Leicester's (1532/3–1588) role as Elizabeth's favourite, the young Earl worked to fashion himself as England's martial leader. I will consider the extent to which Essex and his contemporaries exploited the Spanish language to manipulate public opinion; although many early modern English texts portray Spaniards as dishonest and unreliable, when these authors want to convey their own credibility they turn to Spanish and attribute pamphlets to the language of their enemy. Fabricating Spanish language texts, the authors I examine here falsely claim access to the Spaniards' perspective on the war. 'Spanish' witnesses (texts that appear to, but may or may not actually, have been composed by Spaniards and translated out of their vernacular) thus contributed to efforts to portray England as morally and politically different to Spain and concurrently added to the development of the reputations of specific courtiers. This chapter is interested in the dichotomy between the trope of Spanish dishonesty advanced by *la leyenda negra* and the use of Spaniards to add credibility to these accounts of the Anglo-Spanish conflict and advance the career of the Earl of Essex.

Accompanying his stepfather to the Low Countries, Essex participated in the battle of Zutphen alongside Sir Philip Sidney in 1586. After the skirmish the dying poet made a last-minute bequest of his sword to Essex, 'symbolically transferring his twin roles as Leicester's right-hand man and knightly champion of England's participation in the defence of international Protestantism'.² In 1587 Essex replaced the Earl of Leicester as Elizabeth's master of the horse, advancing his efforts to assert his importance within the court. By February 1588, five months before the Armada, Essex had secretly invested in (and

¹ Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: the Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex 1585–1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 77.

² Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>> [accessed 26 July 2012].

intended to join) a naval expedition led by Sir Francis Drake (c. 1540–1596). With what Paul E. J. Hammer calls a characteristic mix of ‘altruism and self-aggrandisement’, Essex became increasingly paranoid about the threat posed by Spain, leading him to seek to establish himself as England’s primary military leader (a role for which he had some competition).³ Advocating the most hawkish foreign policy of any courtier under Elizabeth, in 1589 Essex disobeyed the Queen’s command and joined the *Swiftsure* and Sir Roger Williams (1539/1540–1595) as they sailed in an effort to capture Lisbon.⁴ In 1591 he commanded the Queen’s expedition to Normandy.⁵ When he finally decided to dedicate himself to matters of court as well as to the battlefield, it was with quiet reserve; Essex explained in 1592 that he ‘resolved to give this satisfaction to the Queen, as to desist for a tyme from [his] cowrse of the warrs and to intend matters of state’.⁶ In the next year the courtiers associated with Essex House would produce some of the most vitriolic works against Spain to appear during Elizabeth’s reign, indicating that Essex and his retinue understood that war could be fought in the printing houses as well as at sea or on the battlefield.

Political hostility influences the use of Spanish language texts in the English Renaissance. In my final chapter, I consider texts dedicated to, produced under the auspices of, or attributed to the Earl of Essex as case studies of how, at times, Spanish might be used to define the role of members of Elizabeth’s court. I examine Richard Perceval’s (c.1558–1620) *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591), which characterises Essex as the leader of the English resistance to Spanish aspirations on the continent. Part of a broader acknowledgement of the Earl’s drive towards war, Perceval’s manual depicts Essex as a military leader. Perceval’s attribution of much of his dictionary to Spaniards is designed to produce confidence in the accuracy of the lexicon included with the guide. However, his claim to have worked with various Spanish prisoners captured during the battle with the Armada also might add credibility to his assessment of the state of the Anglo-Spanish conflict and Essex’s role within it. While the idea that Spaniards might be authorities on the Spanish language, as seen in Perceval’s dictionary, is intuitive, the association this guide makes between their testimony and a reliable account of the conflict was not. This chapter examines the various ways in which English notions of the trustworthiness of Spaniards are juxtaposed with a sense of their authority to represent Spain to the advantage of specific

³ Hammer, ‘Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>> [accessed 26 July 2012].

⁴ London, British Library, MS Stowe 159, f. 370r; London, British Library, MS Egerton 2598, f. 22r.

⁵ Matthew Sutcliffe, *The practice, proceedings, and lawes of armes described out of the doings of most valiant and expert capitaines* (London: C. Barker, 1593), sig. B2v, STC (2nd ed.) 23468.

⁶ London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 653, f. 3r.

courtiers' reputations. *The copie of a letter* (1588) and *A packe of Spanish lyes* (1588) capitalise on opposing assumptions about the trustworthiness of a Spanish voice, the second section of this chapter will show. *The copie of a letter* makes convincing certain particularly laudatory claims about the English performance during the Armada by attributing them to a Spaniard, exploiting the assumption that the enemy would never exaggerate the scope of their rival's victory. *A packe of Spanish lyes* obscures its status as English propaganda by presenting exaggerated accounts of heroism as responses to sensational Spanish misinformation. *An Answer to the Untruthes* (1589) transmits the accounts of the battle offered in these earlier texts, testifying to the credibility of both, this portion of this chapter shall conclude. Six years later, Antony Bacon (1558-1601) exploited the assumption that Spaniards might offer a particularly reliable account of contemporary Spain to produce a witness to the duplicity of Philip II aimed at an English audience. The third portion of this chapter will consider how, by encouraging Arthur Atye's (d. 1604) translation of the *Relaciones* (1594) of Antonio Perez (1540-1611), Bacon worked to shape the political future of Essex House. By 1596 the political currency of Essex is used to imagine England as a trans-European power, the final pamphlet examined by this chapter indicates. *A declaration of the causes* (1596) depicts Essex and his co-commander Charles Howard of Effingham's (1536-1624; created Earl of Nottingham in 1597) military reputation as it warns allies of Spain to desist in their support of Philip. A translation of the pamphlet into Spanish imagines the influence of Essex, Howard and England across Europe by implying that the threatening propaganda might persuade Spanish sailors to defect. Ultimately, this chapter considers the many ways in which English authors exploit, ignore, or subvert the reputed dishonesty of Spaniards to their advantage. Using the Earl of Essex as the central point of several case studies, I ask: how do depictions of Spain and fashioning of specific members of Elizabeth's court intertwine to shape English perception of the developing conflict?

1. Richard Perceval's Bibliotheca Hispanica

In 1588 Sir Roger Williams (1539/1540–1595) described Essex's 'genuine ambition of war'.⁷ Perceval's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* participates in a then-growing tendency to depict the Earl in terms of this 'ambition' as a future leader of an English military force against Spain. By so doing it exploits the political currency of both the Earl of Essex and the Spanish vernacular. It was not unusual for authors to appeal to Essex's interest in war. In 1590 alone works dedicated to Essex included: Joseph Du Chesne's (1544-1609) *The sclopotarie of Josephus Quercetanus. Or his booke containing the cure of wounds received by shot of gunne*; Innocent Gentillet's (1535-1595) *A discourse upon the means of wel governing a kingdom*; and Williams's

⁷ London, The National Archives, SP 78/24, f.112r.

own *A briefe discourse on warre* (discussed in my second chapter). These works develop the association of Essex with warfare. Also dedicated to the Earl, the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* is made up of a grammar followed by a dictionary giving instruction on English, Spanish, and Latin.⁸ Its paratextual materials, particularly its dedicatory epistles, explanatory sonnets and directions to the reader, provide various explanations of the political importance of the work and its consequent relevance to Essex, offering a case study of an instance in which he is depicted as a leader in the conflict with Spain. At the same time, by invoking Essex, the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* asserts its own salience to contemporary concerns in English foreign policy. Attributing the content of his guide to earlier Spanish grammars and conference with Spaniards, Perceval characterises his language guide as particularly accurate and thorough. The rigour of his language study, endowed by his familiarity with Spanish grammars, makes Perceval's manual more authoritative, perhaps both in its capacity as a guide and its assessment of the conflict with Spain, adding to the efficacy of its estimate of Essex. Citing conference with Spaniards captured during the battle with the Armada, Perceval attempts to develop his readers' trust in his guide, in contrast with the well established English stereotype associating Spaniards with duplicity. Perceval's bid for patronage thus fashions Essex as a courtier who, with the help of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, would attempt to control the English reaction to the military threat posed by Spain.

Although the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* is dedicated to the Earl of Essex, there is no evidence to indicate that Essex encouraged Perceval's work; the lexicographer's relatively quick move into the secretariat of Robert Cecil indicates that the dictionary did not result in a lucrative patronage relationship with the Earl.⁹ Unlike many Spanish-speaking scholars, Perceval was never at either university. Instead, after an unsuccessful marriage and a period spent in Spain, he taught at the Merchant Taylors' School for several years and seemingly during this time produced the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*.¹⁰ Although Perceval's guide fits quite closely with the Earl's political agenda and self-fashioning, it is possible that Essex was unable to reward the lexicographer in 1591. Hammer explains:

After [Leicester's] death, the large and diverse body of clients which Leicester had established over several decades began to look for new patrons. Some of these [...]

⁸ Richard Percyvall, *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (London: John Jackson for Richard Watkins, 1591), STC (2nd ed.) 19619.

⁹ Alan G. R. Smith, 'The Secretariats of the Cecils, circa 1580–1612', *The English Historical Review*, 1968, 481–504 (p. 493).

¹⁰ Perceval's career at the Merchant Taylors' School overlapped with that of Richard Mulcaster (1531/2–1611). Mulcaster would come to champion the importance of the vernacular language in his *The First Part of the Elementarie* (1582). The work is dedicated to the Earl of Leicester and declares: 'I love Rome, but London better, I favor Italie, but England more, I honor the Latin, but I worship the English'. Richard Mulcaster, *The first part of the elementarie which entreateth chiefe of the right writing of our English tung* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1582), sig. Hh1v, STC (2nd ed.) 18250.

turned to Essex. This posed a problem for him. Although it was flattering to be the subject of praise and the object of men's attentions, Essex lacked the political standing and an appropriate royal office which would allow him to consolidate this support into a genuine political power-base.¹¹

Under the circumstances it is perhaps not surprising that Essex missed the opportunity to follow his step-father's path to become a patron of language-learning tools. Yet while Essex himself does not seem to have had any input into the production of the guide, the manual offers evidence of the understanding that existed throughout the 1590s that the Earl would appreciate being characterised as Elizabeth's next great general whose war against Spain would be, at least in part, waged through language.

The *Bibliotheca Hispanica*'s dedicatory epistle progresses rapidly through a series of metaphors calling upon Essex to offer the book, allegorised as a ship, protection. This casts the Earl in role that was recognisable just a few years after the defence against the Spanish Armada:

Having put foorth so far into the large sea of common opinion; I sawe that by reason of the shelves and rocks of injurious conceits; which are ready to be found on everie hand; we were like to passe no small adventure [...] And therefore Right Honorable [...] I resolved on this, that bearing in the foreship of my small vessel, the luckie streamer of your honourable and happie name; there would not be a beagle of the cruell *Scylla*, that should dare to baye at us; nor any other monster, were he never so fierce, that would adventure to behold us with a malitious eie. Yea further, that your Honors favorable countenance, would appease us the most stormie tempests, with no lesse authoritie.¹²

The *Bibliotheca Hispanica* was not composed with Essex in mind; Perceval turned to the Earl only upon 'bethinking [him] selfe of all meanes, by which [he] might escape a danger so apparent'. Depicting Essex as protector against the imminent danger posed by aggressive critics, Perceval's metaphor could not fail also to bring to mind a defensive battle at sea, perhaps against Spanish pirates or even the Armada itself. Printed at a time when England and Spain saw regular naval clashes, Perceval's maritime metaphor conjures up imagery of both commerce and war. These two semantic fields are intimately linked with England's implicit political challenge to Spanish pre-eminence. Perceval creates an ominous scene by describing the 'monster[s]' that threaten the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*. Flying the 'luckie streamer' of the Earl, Perceval explains his work will not suffer the criticism to which it might otherwise have been liable, navigating the stormy seas of public opinion with ease under the banner of Essex. 'Essex' becomes synonymous with defence as his 'honourable and

¹¹ Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics*, p. 78.

¹² Percyvall, sig. A2r.

happie name' protects against any 'malitious eie' and 'the most stormie tempests'. The metaphor thus fashions the Earl as a protector of English vessels in a context specifically concerned with Spain, in a manner consistent with Essex's political goals and his 'genuine ambition of war'. From its outset Perceval's guide thus connects the study of Spanish with the Anglo-Spanish conflict and Essex's naval leadership.

Perceval explains that the Earl 'bestoweth much time with happie successe, as well in the knowledge of the toongs', asserting that Essex has spent time effectively learning to speak several languages.¹³ Yet regardless of the relevance of the Earl's personal language study to the manual, Perceval passes quickly over this credential to focus on Essex's range of military experiences. He explains that the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* will be a useful weapon in the Earl's arsenal, further clarifying that it is Essex's hawkish persona, rather than his scholarship or any other credential, that makes him an appropriate recipient of the guide. Perceval explains that he dedicates the work to Essex 'remembering that [he had] employed [himself] so honorablie against the Spanyards in Flanders, Spayne & Portugal'; furthermore Perceval explains that due to these clashes Essex 'had gained an immortall memorie with all posteritie, & might perhaps encounter with them againe upon like occasion'.¹⁴ 'Flanders' refers to Essex's part in Leicester's campaigns in the Low Countries, including the skirmish at Zutphen.¹⁵ 'Spayne' recalls Essex's recent role defending England alongside Leicester and many other courtiers during the attack of the Spanish Armada in the summer of 1588. The reference to Essex's service in 'Portugal' brings to the fore the recent campaign of the *Swiftsure*. Perceval's list thus draws together disparate campaigns to create the impression that the Earl of Essex has been fighting for England and Elizabeth against 'the Spanyard' on all fronts, exaggerating through emphasis the scope of his military experience and success. Perceval's prognostication that Essex may meet Spain 'againe upon like occasion' imagines the possibility of a future war and uses it, alongside the Earl's already established reputation with 'all posteritie', as a justification for his guide to the Spanish language.¹⁶ Hammer explains that Essex

Threw himself into military administration, the appointment of army officers, intelligence gathering, and an ever growing number of foreign correspondences—areas of often frenetic activity which reflected his conviction that confronting Spain was England's most urgent task and which provided him with a steady supply of

¹³ Percyvall, sig. A2v.

¹⁴ Percyvall, sig. A2v.

¹⁵ *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, During his Government of the Low Countries, in the Years 1585 and 1586*, ed. by J. Bruce (London: The Camden Society, 1844), pp. 461, 464.

¹⁶ Percyvall, sig. A2v.

the political ammunition which he needed to impress this view upon a reluctant queen.¹⁷

The *Bibliotheca Hispanica* claims that Essex's past and future experiences protecting England against the threat of Spain makes him an appropriate dedicatee of the manual, above and beyond his scholarly interest in language, and so corresponds with the Earl's own self-fashioning in the early 1590s.

Perceval adopts a hawkish tone throughout the grammar, adding to the sense that the guide might be designed to capitalise on the recent conflict. He traces the Spanish people to 'Tubal, who he describes as 'the nephewe of Noe', or Noah.¹⁸ Perceval's history complicates the idea of Spain's Roman inheritance:

But howe often the line of Tubal [...] hath beene bastarded, hath degenerated, hath beene quite expelled, by the invasions of the Phoenicians, the oppressions of the Greekes, the incursions of the Carthaginians, the conquest and planting of provinces, colonies, and garrisons of the Romaines; the general Deluge of the Gothes Hunes and Vandals, which overran all Europe; and finally the long and intolerable tyrannie of the Moores, whose yoake in 800 yeeres he could scarcely shake off; [Spain's] own histories give sufficient testimonie. It is then very manifest, that this mixture of nations must of necessitie make a mixt and compound language [...].¹⁹

Eric J. Griffin explains that while the explicit link to a patriarch might be seen as a source of Spanish pride 'the Hispanophobic discourse being deployed in England suggest that this formulation of affiliation and relationship was gradually breaking down' and demonstrates that for Elizabethans, 'rather than symbolising "piety and justice" [...] "Tubal" comes to dignify "confusion and ignomie"' in works of literature and propaganda.²⁰ Perceval undermines both Spain's claim to a Biblical lineage and a Roman inheritance by making this part of a less auspicious 'mixture of nations' that includes the 'Moores' and the 'Gothes Hunes and Vandals'. This leads to a particularly 'mixt and compound language' that, it is implied, reaps little advantage from the imperial heritage it might claim through the influences of Latin. The anti-Spanish sentiment that might underpin Perceval's Iberian history is also found in Edward Daunce's *A briefe discourse of the Spanish state*:

¹⁷ Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>> [accessed 26 July 2012]

¹⁸ Percyvall, sig. E2r. Also see: Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 268.

¹⁹ Percyvall, sig. E2r.

²⁰ Eric J. Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 158. Also see: Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 112.

Those beasts [the Spaniards] which are engendred of sundrie kinds, are most cruell [...] The naturall *Spaniard*, being as a simple, is of a confuse and beastly concept, of diet miserable and furious, nourished to increase those humours in scarcitie: but mixed with the Gothes and Vandals, given to [...] drunkennes: mingled with the Mores cruell and full of trecherie: and consequently, tasting of everie one, a spring of all filthinesse.²¹

Duance's diatribe explains that a 'naturall Spaniard', were there such a thing, would still have been disreputable, 'of a confuse and beastly concept'. The degradation of the country through frequent conquest, Daunce explains, has left it unredeemable in its 'filthinesse'. His statement modifies Perceval's sense of the proximity between Spanish and Latin.

Explaining that 'the Latined Reader, may be the sooner acquainted with this toong', Perceval encourages his students, characterising Spanish as accessible regardless of its corruption.²²

Reminiscent of the description of Spanish as corrupted Latin included in John Thorie's (b. 1568) language manual (discussed in my third chapter), here Spain's Roman heritage is merely a component of a more complex and decidedly impure history; indeed, Spain's Roman history makes the language 'the sooner' conquered by an English student. The dedication of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* depicts Essex as a hawkish leader of Elizabeth's efforts against Spain, contributing to its reflection on England's potential to dominate Spain.

Following the epistles to Essex and his readers, Perceval's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* includes four short poems explaining the importance of his work and of the Spanish language in general. The third is attributed to James Lea, Earl of Marlborough (1550–1629). Lea (or Ley) translated the *Book of Common Prayer* into Irish, a project that, like printed propaganda against Spain, used the power of a vernacular language to diminish the authority of the Vatican.²³ Lea was the author of treatises on law, heraldry and antiquarianism; the paratext of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* reveals him to have also been a poet.²⁴ He explains:

Though Spanish speech lay long aside within our Brittiſh Ile,

²¹ Edward Duance, *A briefe discourse of the Spanish state* (London: Richard Field, 1590), sig. F1v. STC (2nd ed.) 6291. I am grateful to Griffin's *English Renaissance Drama* for directing me towards this source.

²² Percyvall, sig. E2r.

²³ Wilfred Prest, 'Ley, James, first earl of Marlborough (1550–1629)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16619>> [accessed 9 September 2012].

²⁴ Critics have recently focused attention on Lea's daughter, the poet Lady Hester Pulter. Another daughter of Ley, Lady Margaret Ley, was the recipient of one of Milton's sonnets ('Sonnet 10, Daughter to that Good Earl'). For reading on Hester Pulter see: *The Encyclopedia of English Renaissance Literature*, ed. by Alan Stewart and Garrett A. Sullivan (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2012); Kate Chedgzoy, *Women's Writing in the British Atlantic World: Memory, Place and History, 1550–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Jill Seal Millman and Gillian Wright, *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Poetry* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Helen Ostovich, *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550–1700* (London: Routledge, 2003).

(Our Courtiers liking nought save French, or *Tuscane* stately stile)
 Yet now at length, (I know not how) steps *Castile* language in,
 And craves for credit with the first, though latest she begin:
 Who lists not yeeld to neither both, of those rehearst before,
 But jumpe as stately and as sweete, or rather stately more:
 As full of prety proverbs, and most dainty privie quips,
 Of grave advices, bitter taunts, and passing gawling nips.
 Though learned pens in Italy and France do flourish more,
 And in our happy Britaine, where are learned men such store:
 Yet Spanish speech lists give no ground: which here by painfull hand
 Of Percivall, is open laid, for all to understand,
 And soon to speake and write the same, by practise in his booke:
 In practise, yeeld him praise and thanks, for thee such paines that took.
 Then thanks, nought else he doth require, though more he do deserve;
 He sets before thee store of cates, spare not, but like and carve.²⁵

The 16-line sonnet identifies a vogue for Spanish at court, as it explains that '(Our Courtiers liking nought save French, or *Tuscane* stately stile) / Yet now at length, (I know not how) steps *Castile* language in'. Although Lea claims not to know of the motivation for this increasing interest in Spanish, he seems to understand that the language is tied to current political problems; while initially Lea claims that Spanish is 'as stately and as sweete' as other languages, he subsequently corrects himself and concludes that it is 'rather stately more'. The word 'stately' was predominantly used in the Renaissance to mean 'dignified', however, this definition was just beginning to meld with the sense of being 'of the state'. Florio uses 'stately' in the definition of '*signorile*', along with 'lord-like' and 'princely', adjectives that convey both a sense of dignity and government.²⁶ Perceval himself would use the word in his definition of '*corte*' as a 'princes court, a stately court yard, a parliament, a court of aldermen' by 1599.²⁷ The emphasis Lea's poem places on stateliness thus differentiates it from the other 'sweete' languages used in court, French and Italian, by its political importance. Juxtaposed with an address to the reader of a page earlier that explains the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* opens 'unto [Englishmen] a librarie; wherein thou mayst finde layed readie to thy view and use, the toonge with which by reason of the troublesome times, [they] arte like to have most acquaintance', Lea's poem supports Perceval's declaration that a heightened English interest in Spanish corresponded with the 'troublesome times', or at least the intriguing Anglo-Spanish political relationship, developing throughout the 1590s.²⁸

²⁵ Percyvall, sig. A4v.

²⁶ John Florio, *A worlde of wordes, or Most copious, and exact dictionarie in Italian and English* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1598), sig. Hh6r.

²⁷ Richard Perceval, *A dictionarie in Spanish and English*, ed. by John Minsheu (London: Edm. Bollifant, 1599), sig. J2v, STC (2nd ed.), 19620.

²⁸ Percyvall, sig. A4r.

Lea's declaration that the 'prety proverbs' and 'most dainty privie quips' of Spanish correspond with 'grave advices, bitter taunts, and passing gawling nips', anthropomorphises the vernacular so that England's enemy's language bites even as it offers an example to which to aspire. Acknowledging the rhetorical model that Spanish poetry might offer, the lines ultimately warn of the offense found in the vernacular of England's enemy. Recalling the 'beagle of the cruell *Scylla* [and] other monster[s]' that threaten the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* and from which Essex's name offers protection, the Spanish language itself now intimidates the reader.²⁹ Lea allegorises rhetorical study as a battle as he explains that 'Spanish speech lists give no ground', or fail to advance English artistry of language and indeed are unintelligible to Englishmen. Only Perceval's 'painfull hand' can sufficiently arm readers with the tools they need to usefully study Spanish. Lea's poem thus furthers the imagery of conflict and protection that runs throughout the manual's paratext, adding to the sense that preparation for war and the study of Spanish must be closely tied and leading to the question addressed by this chapter: how is the dishonesty attributed to the Spanish language reconciled with the inherent authority of Spaniards to give insight into Spain?

The paratextual matter appended to the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* is not single-minded in its characterisation of the Spanish language as a tool of conflict, however. Preceding Lea's sonnet is a Latin poem by Thomas D'Oylie (c.1548–1603) explaining the need to study Spanish to assure English prosperity.³⁰ D'Oylie and Perceval collaborated to produce the language guide; Perceval explains that

Master 'Thomas Doyley [...] had begunne a Dictionary in Spanish, English, and Latin; and seeing mee to bee more foreward to the presse then himselfe; very friendly gave his consent to the publishing of mine; wishing me to adde the Latine to it as hee had begunne.³¹

This may indicate that elements of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* were intended to carry a dedication to Leicester; as I mention in my last chapter, D'Oylie served Leicester in the Low Countries before his career in Oxford and his dedicatory poem seems to reflect a consciousness of this developing front. D'Oylie explains the need for Perceval's dictionary in urgent terms:

This new world of such wealth, which produces the fruit of India
As the sea, with the earth, gems, gold mines;
Spain has these things, like the rich fleece of Jason,
With a people so gilded it is right to speak

²⁹ Percyvall, sig. A2r.

³⁰ Percyvall, sig. A3v.

³¹ Percyvall, sig. A3r.

The Spanish king seeks to conquer the Dutch
 To beat down the kingdom of the French with the strength of his own force,
 To tear England to pieces, and why not? He wants be an absolute ruler;
 This the king so much delights, it is therefore right that I speak
 Rather than war with [the Spanish], let us desire trade and peace;
 You will find their language pleases
 And it is easy and quick to speak
 This book offers the way, from the author Perceval,
 We soon will be able to speak with the people of Spain.³²

D'Oylie's poem focuses on the threat of world domination posed by Spain but, somewhat paradoxically, also argues that the English should learn to speak Spanish to facilitate trade. D'Oylie is quite explicit about Philip's violence: 'The Spanish king seeks to conquer the Dutch/ To beat down the kingdom of the French with the strength of his own force, /To tear England to pieces'. Yet, enumerating the sources of Spain's wealth and naval dominance in the new world, D'Oylie adopts a reverent tone and declares that 'With a people so gilded it is right to speak'. D'Oylie juxtaposes Philip's desire 'To tear England to pieces' with the 'trade and peace' that could be achieved by learning Spanish. He further encourages Englishmen to learn the language of their enemy by describing the pleasing and accessible nature of the language, perhaps in contrast to the unpleasing and prohibited nature of Spain itself. Somewhat in opposition to Perceval's characterisation of the Earl of Essex as a military leader against Spain, D'Oylie's poem offers an alternative solution to the 'troublesome times' that give rise to the language guide and instead seeks accord between England and its enemy. Although this does not align with some of the other themes of the prefatory matter, it exemplifies an alternative English perspective on the political importance of the Spanish language. Explaining the need for the book, still through recourse to contemporary questions of the Anglo-Spanish conflict, D'Oylie's poem imagines a future in which language study serves productive ends.

The second portion of Perceval's work is an English-Spanish-Latin dictionary. The title page claims that the work is produced 'out of divers good Authors' works.³³ The introductory epistle to the reader explains that

³² Percyvall, sig. A2v. '*Quas novus orbis opes, quas profert India fructus / Quas mare, quas tellus, gemmas, auriq[ue] fodinas; / Has habet Hispanus, Jasonis vellere dives, / Cum populo aurato collubet ergo loqui Expetit Hispanus Belgas evincere; regem / Gallorum per vim regno depellere; regnum / Diripere Anglorum; quid non? Cupit esse Monarcha; / Cum rege hoc tanto, collubet ergo loqui. / Cum quibus aut bellum cupimus, commercia, pacem; / Horum sermo placet; facilemque brevemque loquendi / Dat liber iste modum; dat Percyvallius auctor / Cum populo Hispano Quam cito posse loqui?*' I am grateful to Kate Maltby for this and all Latin translations in this dissertation.

³³ Percyvall, no signature. The title page is followed by an introduction. Both this and the title have no signature numbers; when the dictionary commences on the following page it begins with 'A1', indicating that the work was printed separately from the grammar with which it is bound.

The Spanish words gathered out of *Nebrissensis*, are not al in use: for him selfe saith; he framed and coined some; yet I have set downe all, least thou shouldst thinke I dealt scarce faithfully with him: I have purposely passed over his repetitions of the selfe same word, which he often useth to expresse the sense of the Latin words; for I go about to explain the Spanish, not to teach the Latine.³⁴

Perceval declares his intention to accurately represent all of Antonio de Nebrija's (1441-1522) dictionaries (1492 and 1495), although this is quickly replaced with the explanation that he has done away with portions that serve only to elucidate Latin. His description of the work's intent 'to explain the Spanish, not to teach the Latine', also alludes to the innovation of his book, which includes the first printed English-Spanish lexicon. Perceval insists upon the authority of his Spanish source over the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, explaining that 'the Dictionarie hath coste me greatest paynes; for [...] I had collected it into Spanish and English out of Christoval de las Casas, and Nebrissensis' and claims that only 'some small pittaunce of mine owne, amounting well neere two 2000 wordes' were included in the word list.³⁵ Perceval's eagerness to attribute the majority of the lexicon to texts printed in Spain indicates that he expected his readers to attribute credibility to these sources, perhaps assuming that Spaniards would offer the most extensive, authentic and accurate account of the Spanish language. Ironically, just as Essex protects the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* from the 'stormie tempests' of its critics, so Christoval de las Casas and Antonio de Nebrija guard his work from inaccuracies or deficiencies that might themselves result in complaints. Essex thus finds himself working with the Spaniards to protect Perceval's dictionary.

Perceval also attributes much of the *Bibliotheca Hispanica* to conference with Spaniards. In so doing, he attributes composition of the guide to the opportunities created by the English victory over the Armada. He explains that: 'I ranne [the text] over twice with *Don Pedro de Valdes*, and *Don Vasco de Sylva*, to whome I had accesse, by the favour of my worshipfull friend Maister *Richard Drake* [...]'.³⁶ Richard Drake (1535-1603), a cousin of Sir Francis Drake, was tasked with holding Don Pedro de Valdez (1544-1615), Alonso de Zayas de Laja and Vasco de Mendoza de Silva at Wayneflete Tower in Esher after they were captured during the conflict with the Armada in the summer of 1588.³⁷ Apparently during this time Drake gave Perceval access to his Spanish prisoners, allowing him to complete the dictionary. Perceval's insistent attribution of the work to these Spanish soldiers locates his guide in the aftermath of a particular battle; he implies that the manual is able to more rigorously and reliably represent the Spanish language because it has been

³⁴ Percyvall, no signature.

³⁵ Percyvall, sig. A3r.

³⁶ Percyvall, sig. A3r.

³⁷ Harry Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 336-37.

checked by Spaniards and this very claim allows him to contextualise his language study relative to a military victory over Spain. Furthermore, the prisoners' presence during the Armada and their continued association with Drake might also add credibility to Perceval's other claims about Spain, including his dedicatory epistle's assessment of Essex's role in the evolving Anglo-Spanish conflict. Although he makes no such specific claim, Perceval's consultation with these actual veterans of the battle might imply his insight not just into the Spanish language but also the military elements of the conflict. Yet while Perceval's reliance on the Spaniards' help further signals the relevance of his work to the conflict, it overlooks the duplicity generally attributed to Spain by *la leyenda negra*, a stereotype that the extended reference to contemporary politics made in the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*'s prefatory material might bring to mind. While it may not be surprising that he consulted Spanish dictionaries, Perceval's use of these prisoners (who might be expected to work against English interests) is counterintuitive in a guide that is in some ways so conscious of the threats posed by Spain. The *Bibliotheca Hispanica* never resolves this discord and in this complicates the relationship with the Spanish language observed throughout this thesis. Appearing as Essex embarked upon a concerted campaign to solidify his place as Elizabeth's chief military advisor, the *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, a work that explicitly attributes much of the information it collates to Spaniards and that is designed to facilitate English communication with Spain, strongly identifies the Earl's importance to future military encounters. By so doing it capitalises on a paradoxical pairing of distrust of and reliance on the authority of Spaniards as witnesses to the threat posed by Spain.

2. A packe of Spanish lyes and Propaganda After the Armada

The sense that the testimony of individual Spaniards might offer particularly accurate insights into aspects of the developing conflict created a new tool for English propagandists in the 1580s and 1590s; using texts that appear to be primary sources – written in Spanish and attributed to Spaniards – Englishmen might shape the public understanding of the events of the Armada and the national character of Spain.

Propaganda using Spanish to obscure its English origins exploits various assumptions about Spain to manipulate public understanding of the actual events of the conflict. Here I will turn briefly to consider how two important advisors of Elizabeth responsible for shaping England's foreign policy, William Cecil, first Baron Burghley (1520/21–1598) and Sir Francis Walsingham (c.1532–1590), might have relied on this technique after the Armada to influence public opinion. While Perceval used his Spanish guide to fashion the militaristic reputation of the Earl of Essex, Walsingham and Burghley manipulated recent history to develop the reputation of various courtiers by translating their accounts of the

events of the Armada into Spanish or ascribing them to Spanish sources, the origins of which they each seem to presume will go unquestioned by their readers. These pamphlets adopt different strategies, sometimes comparing England to Spain in the voice of a Spaniard, for instance, in order to add credibility to positive reports of English success, and sometimes enumerating Spanish slanders, using supposed lies to foster English incredulity and resentment of the enemy. In both cases, the English authors obscure their identities and motivations by attributing texts to Spanish origins. This makes the accounts they contain more believable and so produces documents designed to influence the conflict in a manner that would have been impossible using English alone.

Burghley's attribution of an account of his sons' (Robert, Thomas and the Earl of Oxford, his son-in-law) importance to the English defence against the Armada to a Spaniard is a revealing example of early modern English use of the Spanish language as a tool of political manipulation. Although in some ways typical of any propaganda war in which material might be fabricated and attributed to an enemy, the pamphlet is noteworthy in that it capitalises on the assumption that English readers might find a Spanish account more convincing than one attributed to an English author. *The copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza &c.* (1588), offers an explanation of the Armada that flatters the Cecil family.³⁸ Its association with Don Berardino de Mendoza (1540-1604), one-time ambassador to Elizabeth's court, adds credibility to the portrayal of the Cecils' role in the battle, for why would a Spaniard create such a partisan account of the role of a specific set of English courtiers in the campaign?³⁹ Rather than invoking the trope of Spanish dishonesty that I have observed so frequently in English propaganda materials throughout this dissertation, Burghley's pamphlet instead plays upon the far more subtle assumption that Englishmen would imagine that in a Spanish report of the Armada's defeat all the details of the account would be either accurate or minimise English success.

The copie of a letter is derived from British Library Lansdowne MS 103.⁴⁰ The manuscript went through three stages. It includes a first draft, entirely in Burghley's hand, a fair copy in a secretarial hand, and corrections, again in Burghley's hand.⁴¹ These

³⁸ William Cecil, *The copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza ambassadour in France for the King of Spaine, declaring the state of England* (London: J. Vautrollier for Richard Field, 1588), STC (2nd ed.) 15412.

³⁹ The 'translation' itself became the inspiration for English literary endeavours. One annotator who was struck by Mendoza's apparent optimism before the battle writes 'Mendoza at Paris before the fight at Sea crying out openly before ye Victori Victoria / After the disconfiture of the Spanish fleet durst no more come forth of his house for very shame because the boys and porters mocked him as he rodd through the street upon his mule crying to him Victoria Victoria'. London, British Library 440.i.16, sig. B4v.

⁴⁰ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 103, ff. 134–149 (draft in Burghley's hand); ff. 150–164 (fair copy, with corrections and additions in Burghley's hand).

⁴¹ Alan H. Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary: The Life of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), p. 316.

corrections include the insertion of Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford (1550-1604), Burghley's son-in-law, at the centre of the action. Burghley writes: 'the Erle of oxford also in this tyme repayared to the sea cost, for service of ye Qu[een] in the navy'.⁴² The Earl of Oxford's participation in the battle cannot be verified in any primary accounts of the campaign except those connected to Burghley.⁴³ On this same page Thomas Cecil's name is added in the margin: 'and amongst many others ther wear the son and heyr of the L[ord] tresorer called Thomas Cecill'.⁴⁴ The original copy and the additions to the secretarial manuscript strongly suggest that the account of the Cecils' contributions to the battle reported in *The copie of a letter* originates with Burghley. A Spanish version of the account that appeared several months later under the title *Respuesta y desengano* (1588) obscures Burghley's intervention further. This fabrication of a Spanish account according to Burghley's design ultimately led to the transmission of a narrative of the battle in which the Cecil family's role was exaggerated in various accounts, including one that I shall discuss below, testifying to the credibility attributed to the pamphlet by its English readership. Akin to the credibility Perceval's lexicon derives from naming its Spanish sources, Burghley uses the voice of Mendoza to add weight to the witness he fabricates to his sons' importance in the battle.

A packe of Spanish lyes, Sent Abroad in the World: First printed in Spaine in the Spanish tongue, and translated out of the original. Now ripped up, unfolded, and by just examination condemned, as conteyning false, corrupt, and detestable wares, worthy to be damned and burned &c. is another pamphlet that reacts to the Armada through the ventriloquisation of Spanish voices. It capitalises on a somewhat different English assumption about the reliability of Spanish testimony than that exploited by Burghley. Where *The copie of a letter* assumes that a Spaniard would never lie to exaggerate English success, *A packe of Spanish lyes* exploits the more common assumption that Spaniards were inherently untrustworthy. This, as we will see below, allowed the author to exaggerate the English victory as amplified accounts of success were disguised as corrections of supposed Spanish dishonesty. Produced in 1588 at the press of Christopher Barker (1528/9–1599), the Queen's printer, the pamphlet likely had its origins on Walsingham's desk, although it is impossible to identify the author with certainty.⁴⁵ The work amalgamates various 'lies' that it claims were originally printed in Spain and pairs these with English 'corrections'. The strength of Spanish resistance is evident in the violence of the metaphor for translation used in its title; to make the

⁴² London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 103, f. 161v.

⁴³ Nelson, p. 314; Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1960), p. 432.

⁴⁴ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 103, f. 161r.

⁴⁵ David Kathman, 'Barker, Christopher (1528/9–1599)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1390>> [accessed 29 July 2012].

pamphlets English the Spanish letters must be ‘ripped up’, or aggressively unsealed. The description seems to imply that the Spanish language is inherently obscure, closed to English readers, as epistles must be ‘unfolded’ by the translator in order to be read and ultimately ‘condemned’ as lies. Only after all this ripping, unfolding and translating is it possible for the anonymous pamphleteer to identify the ‘detestable’ nature of the Spanish propaganda to which he responds.

The ‘lyes’ that the pamphlet corrects diminish English success during the battle of the Armada, exaggerating losses or describing acts of cowardice. Reminiscent of *A new ballet of the straunge and most cruell whippes which the Spanyards had prepared*, addressed in my first chapter, this pamphlet claims to be particularly concerned with correcting fraudulent accounts of a Spanish victory that circulate in Spain after the success of England in 1588. In reality, the ‘lyes’ obscure the fact that the corrections exaggerate English success. There is no evidence that the ‘lyes’ that the pamphlet enumerates in fact reflect anything circulated in Spain; rather, they merely offer a starting point for embellished accounts of English fortitude. The pamphlet assumes its readers will accept the Spanish slanders as genuine and that they will be sufficiently incensed by the dishonesty of their enemy to overlook the propaganda contained in the corrections. The first document the pamphlet transcribes claims to be ‘A Packe of Spanish lies. From Spaine’ found in letters that include accounts of ‘the imprisonment of *Francis Drake*, and other great Nobles of Englande [...] with the successe of the said Catholike armie’.⁴⁶ The tautological declaration that the pamphlet advertises ‘Spanish lies. From Spaine’, emphasising the hypothetical language and origins of the text, is corrected in the voice of an Englishman, claiming:

The Letters from the kings Ambassadour, whose name is *Mendoza*, agreeable to their Masters name, being the reporter of *mendacià mendacissima*, & considering that hee hath written that *Francis Drake* is imprisoned [...] But the truth is, Sir *Francis Drake* was so farre off to be a prisoner, that hee was the taker: for hee tooke *Pedro de Valdez*, and 400. moe Spanish prisoners at one time. And to prove this to be true, *Mendoza* shall have if hee will require it, *Pedro de Valdez* owne hand to shewe, that he is prisoner to Sir *Francis Drake*, and 400. moe taken with him, and not one English man taken in that service.⁴⁷

The ‘Spanish lies’ become the conduit for English propaganda, creating a narrative of Drake’s success and emphasising the capture of ‘400’ prisoners. The pamphlet’s explication of the connection between Mendoza’s name and the Latin phrase ‘*mendacià mendacissima*’ or

⁴⁶ *A packe of Spanish lies, sent abroad in the world: first printed in Spaine in the Spanish tongue* (London: Christopher Barker, 1588), sigs. A2r-2v, STC (2nd ed.) 23011.

⁴⁷ *A packe of Spanish lies*, sigs. A2r-2v. Pedro de Valdez is one of the Spaniards credited with assisting the production of Perceval’s *Bibliotheca Hispanica*.

‘most mendacious lie’ re-emphasises the premise that any text attributed to Spaniards and written in Spanish is necessarily fallacious. While the truth of the English corrections is never explicitly declared, it is implied through the juxtaposition with the Spanish ‘lyes’.

In another such ‘lye’ a letter attributed to ‘*Diego Peres*, chiefe Postmaster of *Logrono*’ claims

All the English armie remained overthrowen, having sunke *two and twentie shippes*, and taken *fourtie*, and imprisoned *Francis Drake* [... and] there was found in *captaine Drakes* shippe, a piece of ordinance of five and twentie foote long, which discharged a shotte of a hundreth weight at once, made of purpose, with one onely shot to sinke our Spanish Admirall, and it pleased God although shee was somewhat battered, yet was she repaired againe, and overthrewe the English armie.⁴⁸

The claims the letter makes detail the impressive capability of the English navy and its ships. The ventriloquised voice of Perez implies the skill of the Spanish force by describing English resources and declaring that these have been overcome by Spain. This ‘lye’ thus uses the tactic deployed by *The copie of a letter*, discussed above; propaganda regarding the size of the English fleet is made believable through the reader’s assumption that a Spaniard would not provide such a positive report of England’s resources unless it were true. The reader thus assumes the untrue element of this ‘lye’ is only that the Spanish overthrew the ‘English armie’. The preliminary details about the size of the English fleet are made more believable because they are described by a supposed Spaniard. The description is juxtaposed with the question:

Why durst any report that 22. English shippes were sunke, and 40. were taken, when in trueth there was not any one of the English shippes sunke or taken? A strange disposition, to forge such great lies, whereof there was no ground, nor colour. If any one or two of the English had bene sunke, a liar might have put the number of 20. for 2. and excused the lye by error of figuring: but of none in number, no number can bee made, but by falsehood.⁴⁹

Continuing at some length, the English correction of the letter finally ends with the frustrated exclamation that ‘every line, or every sentence [of the Spanish text], containeth a lye’.⁵⁰ The claim ‘there was not any one of the English shippes sunke or taken’ is made unquestionable when the pamphlet’s author declares that it would be possible to excuse the falsehood that twenty ships had been sunk if two had been due to an ‘error of figuring’.

⁴⁸ *A packe of Spanish lies*, sigs. A3r-3v.

⁴⁹ *A packe of Spanish lies*, sigs. A3r-3v.

⁵⁰ *A packe of Spanish lies*, sig. A3v.

The dishonesty of the Spanish excerpts thus contributes to a sense of the reliability of the English text.

The English retorts in *A packe of Spanish lyes* reiterate the supposed dishonesty of Spaniards, as each English response begins with ‘Here followeth the Mountaine of lies’ or ‘Al these untrue newes are sayde to have come from the spanish fleete’. The pamphlet wades through eight ‘Spanish lyes’, each of which purports to originate in a separate source. The seventh passage ends with the only English confirmation of a Spanish truth: where the Spanish claims that the ships ‘threw out their baggage which they saved in boats’, the English agrees that ‘it is very true, that the Spaniards ships, to make themselves light to flie, did cast away their boates, and threw their Moiles and horses into the sea’.⁵¹ Here the English affirmation of the Spanish claim creates the impression that the pamphleteer is not dismissing Spanish claims out of hand. Yet even this truth is revealed to be a generalisation that belies the depths of the Spaniards’ despair; where the Spanish lie claims only ‘their baggage’ was lost, the English reveals that this included ‘their Moiles’ – or mules – ‘and horses’. Here *A packe of Spanish lyes* again mirrors the *The copie of a letter* as it exploits the assumption that any Spanish acknowledgement of defeat must be true, for a Spaniard would not fabricate an account that extols England.

A packe of Spanish lyes ends with the credentials of each of its printers. This undermines the authenticity of the Spanish passages, which in the body of the text are attributed to a range of sources but at the end of the treatise are credited to a single source. Each ‘printer’ ends his work with a biblical quotation (a feature that unifies the works as a single effort and further discredits the claim that part of the pamphlet was printed in Spain). The ‘Spanish’ section is followed by a passage from ‘Joan [sic] 8.44’:

The [sic] are of your father the devil, and the lustes of your father the will doe: hee hath bene a murtherer from the beginning, and abode not in the trueth, because there is no trueth in him. When hee speaketh a lye, then speaketh hee of his owne: for hee is a lyer and the father thereof.⁵²

In this passage the interlocutor is the descendant of the ‘devil’, and thus is inherently corrupt. This identification of Spaniards with the ‘devil’ is confirmed earlier in the pamphlet when the English responds to a report by declaring ‘both the post Master of *Logrono*, and the writers from *Roan* ought to be waged as Intelligencers for the devill the

⁵¹ *A packe of Spanish lyes*, sig. B3r. At least one other pamphlet would emphasise the Spaniards’ cruelty to their horses. *Certaine Advertisements Out of Ireland* (1588), a letter attributed to ‘John de le Conido of Lekit’ (identified as a Spaniard), claims: ‘After the English fleete parted from them the Spanish fleete cast out all the horses and mules into the sea to save their water’ (sig. B2v).

⁵² *A packe of Spanish lyes*, sig. A4r.

father of lyes, whom they have herein truly served'.⁵³ The biblical passage implies that the tendency to lie originates in something inherent in Hispanic culture, as it declares that 'the [sic] are of your father', that 'hee [...] aboade not in the trueth' and that 'hee is a lyer and the father thereof'. John 8.44 concerns the inheritance of language. In John 8.42–44 Christ discusses why his listeners are not able to understand his metaphors, concluding that it is because they speak the language of 'their father', the devil; if they spoke the language of God they would be able to understand his sermon. According to the passage, language is an inherited skill, and is responsible for mediating not only communication but also the fate of entire populations. By associating the Spanish excerpts with the Pharisees of John 8, the pamphlet makes clear that the lies enumerated in the work are symptomatic of a larger problem inherent in Hispanic writing and national character. Because of Spaniards' dishonesty, the Spanish passages could never convey truth, the quotation suggests (a version of a familiar trope in the period linking a national language and the moral character of that nation).

The verse appears across from two passages that reflect the English texts, one from Zachariah 8.16 (the pamphlet erroneously identifies it as 'Zach 8.26') and one from Ephesians 4.25. Both portray honesty as a national duty. The quotation from Zachariah explains: 'These are the things that the shall doe: Speake every man the truth unto his neighbour'.⁵⁴ Similarly, the passage from Ephesians explains: 'Wherefore cast off lying, and speake every man trueth unto his neighbour: for we are members one of another'. Placed under the English 'responses', honesty is characterised as part of a shared communal, and in this case perhaps national, character as the pamphlet declares 'we are members one of another'. Rather than descendants of the devil, and so inherently dishonest, the English speakers have the potential, and perhaps inclination towards, truthfulness, particularly towards their 'neighbour' (a somewhat ludicrous claim in a pamphlet that is in its very nature deceptive).

An Answer to the Untruthes (1589), the final work examined in this section, is an amalgamation of Burghley's *The copie of a letter* and *Respuesta y desengano* and *A packe of Spanish lyes*, a pamphlet that I have suggested may have been produced with Walsingham's oversight. *An Answer to Untruthes* responds to specific 'Spanish' rumours, reproducing parts of *A packe of Spanish lyes*. It responds to these with accounts of the Armada taken from *The copie of a letter* and its Spanish language counter-part *Respuesta y desengano*. *An Answer to Untruthes* first reproduces 'The copie of a letter which Diego Perez, Postmaster of

⁵³ *A packe of Spanish lyes*, sig. A3v.

⁵⁴ *A packe of Spanish lyes*, sig. A4v.

Logronno', discussed above, exactly as it appears in *A packe of Spanish lyes*.⁵⁵ *An Answer to Untruthes* laments 'I grieve not a little, to see now, how apparantly Spaine is given to lie', and then, paradoxically, offers his translation of *Respuesta y desengano*, an account of reported Spanish origins (although in fact it was merely a Spanish version of Burghley's self-serving *The copie of a letter*) as a response to the various Spanish untruths. *An Answer to Untruthes* replies to the 'Postmaster of Logronno' and other 'Spanish' rumours with a song recounting Burghley's version of the events of the Armada, as first reported in *The copie of a letter*. The source of the account are evident in the prominence of Burghley's sons and relatives in *An Answer to Untruthes*'s description of the English victory:

The valorous *Cicill*, which *Thomas* hath to name,
 who in affaires of wars, did never feare his foe,
Charles Blunt, *William Hatton*, two soldiers noted well,
Walter Rawleigh, not the least, nor used lesse in armes,
Robert Cicill, and *William*, that is his brothers son,
 whose valor goes beyond, that of the wrathfull *Mars* [...].⁵⁶

The pamphlet thus accepts the Spanish origins of both *The copie of a letter* and *Spanish lyes*, and the various relationships with Spanish dishonesty that each presents. Accepting both *Spanish lyes*'s account of the rumours spread in Spain and *The copie of a letter*'s assessment of the Cecils' importance to the English defence against the Armada, *An Answer* takes both texts of reportedly Spanish origins at face value, believing or disbelieving the 'Spanish' elements precisely as the propagandists seem to have intended.

The author of *An Answer to Untruthes*, working under the name of 'Lea', explains that he is compelled to translate the pamphlet from Spanish because of the credibility inherent in a Spanish witness to English victory.⁵⁷ He writes:

⁵⁵ D.F.R. de M., *An answer to the untruthes, published and printed in Spaine, in glorie of their supposed victorie atchieved against our English Navie*, ed. by James Lea (London: John Jackson for Thomas Camden, 1589), sig. H1v, STC (2nd ed.) 17132.

⁵⁶ D. F. R. de M., sig. D1r.

⁵⁷ *An Answer to the Untruthes* is attributed to 'D.F.R. de M.', as translated by 'J.L.'; the dedication to Charles Howard of Effingham is signed 'James Lea'. The authorship of the pamphlet has invited critical speculation. Bernard M. Ward attributed *An Answer to the Untruthes* to John Lyly (1554–1606) (due to his presence at the battle and his initials), but this attribution does not seem to be correct. The pamphlet does not offer an eyewitness account of any battle, which seems an unnecessary level of obscurity for Lyly. Alan H. Nelson argues that the pamphlet was more likely created by Burghley writing under the name James Leigh, a conclusion he reaches because of the pamphlet's similarities to *The copie of a letter* and *Respuesta y desengano*. However, the author of *An Answer to the Untruthes* may be James Lea, later Earl of Marlborough (after 1626) who would write on the threat posed by Spain in a sonnet at the beginning of Perceval's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* just two years later.

G. K. Hunter, 'Lyly, John (1554–1606)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17251>> [accessed 18 September 2012]; Bernard M. Ward, *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford 1550–1604: Four Contemporary Documents* (London: John Murray, 1979), p. 291; Personal correspondence with Professor Alan H. Nelson, University of California, Berkeley; D.F.R. de M., sig. A2r.

Chauncing upon a Spanish Pamphlet, dedicated to the Queenes most excellent Majestie, containing an answer against certaine untruths published and printed in Spaine: when I noted that vertue coulde not but be praised, even by a late enimie, (though now reconciled) a stranger, naie a Spaniard, forced [sic] by truth it selfe, to defend the woorthines of our English Nobilitie, against his owne councitriemen: I could not (right Honorable) but (for the benefite and farther incouragement of my country) publish his works in English [...]⁵⁸

Lea's endorsement of his source inadvertently explains the effect of Burghley's obscuration of his authorship of *Respuesta y desengano* and *The copie of a letter*. He explains that there is greater value in a Spanish account of the victory than there would be in that of an English witness because it indicates 'that vertue coulde not but be praised', even though it was contrary to the assumed allegiances of the author. The truth of the account is assured because the Spaniard would be motivated to diminish it if he could; the English actions during the battle must be so virtuous that even an enemy cannot speak ill of them. Lea explains that *Respuesta y desengano* contains an account that has been 'forced [sic] by truth it selfe, to defend the woorthines of our English Nobilitie, against his owne councitriemen'; here again Lea explains that a Spaniard would be expected to belittle the English success. Thus the counter-intuitiveness of the document endows it with credibility. The authority of the text is the result of its fabricated Spanish authorship; an English voice delivering the same report might just be spreading propaganda. Although convoluted, Burghley's initial attribution of his account of the Armada to a Spaniard proved convincing, and the pamphlets seem to have provided the basis of English narratives of the Armada for generations to come.⁵⁹ Lea's *An Answer to the Untruthes* thus simultaneously bears witness to the efficacy of two opposing ways of using Spanish to create English propaganda as he both accepts the truth inherent in a Spanish account of English victory and, at the same time, is prompted to create a further witness celebrating and transmitting an exaggerated account of a national success as a result of his consternation at false Spanish reports of English defeats.

3. Arthur Atye's translation of Antonio Perez's *Relaçiones*

A translation of Antonio Perez's *Pedacos de historia, ô relaçiones*, a condemnation of the cruelty and duplicity of the Spanish court, seems to be the first propaganda clearly encouraged by

⁵⁸ D. F. R. de M., sig. A2r.

⁵⁹ See: John Stow, *The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England* (London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Adams, 1615), sig. Qq97v, STC (2nd ed.) 23338; William Camden, *Annales Rerum Anglicarum, regnante Elizabetha* (London: Typis Guilielmi Stansbii, Impensis Simonis Watersoni, 1615), sig. Rrr1v, STC (2nd ed.) 4496. As late as 1680 a pack of playing cards (now held at the Maritime Museum in Greenwich) showed the face of the five of clubs, mounted on horseback with ships in the background, which it lists as 'The Earl of Oxford Northumberland Cumberland, w[i]th many more of the Nobility and Gentry going to visit the English Fleet'.

Essex House that uses a Spanish language witness against Spain.⁶⁰ Translated by Arthur Atye and commissioned by Anthony Bacon, the dedicatory epistle frames the work in a manner that spoke to the political concerns of Essex. Because *Relaciones* was composed at the French court before Perez's affiliation with the Earl, I will focus only on Atye's translation and evidence that the paratextual material forwards a depiction of Essex as a key mediator of the developing conflict. Born in 1540, by 1566 Perez was named Philip II's secretary of state.⁶¹ Accused of various crimes in Spain, Perez fled to France in 1591 and to England by 1593. Gregorio Mara  n's 1953 biography was translated as *Antonio Perez: 'Spanish Traitor'* by Charles David Ley in 1954.⁶² While Ley offers a detailed history of Perez's career, he focuses on his political legacy at the Spanish court rather than the treatment and impact of his works in England. Gustav Ungerer's 1974 edition of Perez's letters, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Perez's Exile*, is a useful anthology of Perez's writings and documents the English perception of his work.⁶³ In the past two decades scholars have focused more attention on Perez because of his influence over developing English-Spanish relations. Both Hammer and Alexandra Gajda address Perez's works in passing, as must be the case in any discussion of the politics of the Earl of Essex during the 1590s.⁶⁴ Perez's treatise, Atye's English translation and their significance to the politics of Essex House has been largely ignored, however; I will consider how these texts portray the Earl as part of the English resistance to Spanish hegemony and a protector of English Catholics by capitalising on the poignancy of a Spaniard's account of the duplicity of Philip II.

Composed during Perez's fall from grace, *Relaciones* was first printed in Spanish in Pau in 1591 under the sponsorship of Catherine de Navarre. It was almost certainly under the auspices of Essex that the London edition, *Pedacos de historia,   relaciones*, appeared in 1594 and circulated under the pseudonym 'Raphael Peregrino'.⁶⁵ Presentation copies were sent to many prominent hawkish courtiers, including Henry Howard, later Earl (after 1604) of Northampton (1540–1614), Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy (1563–1606), Sir Robert

⁶⁰ Paul E. J. Hammer, 'The Use of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c. 1585–1601', *The English Historical Review*, 1994, 25–51 (p. 44).

⁶¹ Gregorio Mara  n, *Antonio Perez* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1947), p. 2.

⁶² Gregorio Mara  n, *Antonio Perez: 'Spanish Traitor'*, ed. by Charles David Ley (London: Aberdeen University Press, 1954). Ley offers a reduced version of Mara  n's original biography.

⁶³ Gustav Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Perez's Exile* (London: Tamesis Books Limited, 1974), I, pp. 142, 309.

⁶⁴ Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 88; Hammer, 'The Use of Scholarship', p. 44.

⁶⁵ Gustav Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Perez's Exile* (London: Tamesis Books, 1976), II, pp. 254–255; Nicholas Spadaccini and Jenaro Talens, *Autobiography in Early Modern Spain* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. 165; Raphael Peregrino, *Pedacos de historia,   relaciones* (London: Richard Field, 1594), STC (2nd ed.) 19624.5.

Sidney (1563–1626), Anthony and Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Sir Henry Wootton (1568–1639), further indicating that the propagation of the work was intended to speak to the interests of an anti-Spanish political circle and push their agenda publically.⁶⁶ *Relaciones* set the stage for Essex's campaign against Cadiz the following year, vilifying Philip II and justifying an intervention against his tyrannical monarchy. The memoir was translated into English as part of a deliberate strategy to increase hostility towards Philip II. Bacon, the Earl of Essex's friend and a close acquaintance of Perez, was responsible for commissioning Atye's translation.⁶⁷ Atye completed and sent back his work for Bacon to edit in March 1595.⁶⁸ At this time Atye instructs Bacon to include what he 'thincke fitt to put in or out or alter' characterising the translation as malleable and to be shaped to the purposes of Essex House.⁶⁹

While the *Relaciones* as a whole denounces Spain, only the dedicatory epistle written by Perez and the explanatory introduction appended to the translation by Atye were composed with the politics of Essex House in mind. The preface to the English translation of *Relaciones* explains the motivation behind this new version of the more than two decades old text, specifying that the work was circulated with the intention of denouncing Philip II to English Catholics; Atye asks 'have we any at home or abroad that discontenting themselves with their own Prince and Countreyes estate, relye their hopes upon this king of Spayne?', referring to those English Catholics who, unsatisfied with their lives in England, emigrated and turned to the Spanish monarch for protection.⁷⁰ The preface thus invokes a familiar dichotomy between Elizabeth and England, this 'Prince and Countrey', and 'the king of Spayne'. The treatise recounts story after story detailing the cruelty of Philip as he imprisoned and tortured Perez, a member of his own faith. Atye's question thus characterises the *Relaciones* as particularly important for Englishmen who might resent Elizabeth's anti-recusancy laws. By juxtaposing England with a king who is decried as cruel, Atye implies that while England may no longer be a Catholic country, it is still safer for English recusants than any land ruled by Philip. Perez's testimony thus bears witness to the unreliability and cruelty of Philip and, as we shall see below, Atye proposes an alternative leader for English Catholics in the form of Essex.

⁶⁶ Gajda, p. 88.

⁶⁷ Gajda, p. 88.

⁶⁸ London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 653 no. 32, f. 76r. For a printed edition of this letter see: Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, p. 258.

⁶⁹ Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, p. 258.

⁷⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS English History C239, f. 4r. For a print version of this preface see: Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, pp. 259–263. For ease of access all further references will be to this edition.

As would be the case with much English propaganda throughout the 1590s, Atye invokes the memory of the Armada. Somewhat counter-intuitively, however, he uses this history of conflict as a warning to English Catholics (who may have sympathised with Spain's intention return to Catholicism to England in 1588):

His intent is playnely to conquer yor Countrye, his fact of the yeare 1588 manifestly declareth [...] if he shoulde [again attempt to invade England], and that by yor ayde, conquer it, indeed, what is yor hope then of him? Are you great ones and thincke to be advaunced by assistinge him with yor forces and persons in this Conquest?⁷¹

This begins a series of rhetorical questions that Atye uses to imply that Philip has often betrayed Spaniards and so, logically, loyalty to him might not offer much protection to English Catholics. Atye's declaration that Philip sought to 'conquer yor Countrye' in 1588 portrays the Armada as a personal affront against all Englishmen and asserts his readers' alliance with '[their] Countrye' regardless of their religion. Atye invokes several stories of Philip's cruelty to those who served him and explains that even though 'Innocent, having served him greatly and as good Catholickes (as you terme them) as any you can be' his own subjects were imprisoned and executed.⁷² His parenthetical explanation '(as you terme them)' distances Atye from his readers, hinting that he does not sympathise with the idea of 'good Catholickes', but also implying that he understands his audience's concerns and intends to speak directly to these regardless of their religious differences. Atye points to the treatment of Perez as an example of the King's disloyalty and asks: 'do you thincke that for any desert of yors, for any promise of his to you, for any bonde of Religion or whatsoever, you being straungers, shalbe better used? You are not better Catholickes neyther then Senor Antonio Perez was'.⁷³ Explicitly directing the manual at the English Catholic population, either genuinely or as a rhetorical gesture intended to provide a context for the translation, Atye argues that 'good Catholikes' are not safer under Philip than Elizabeth; indeed, treachery so dominates Philip's character that he cannot be trusted even to treat Spaniards well. Perez's identity as a Spaniard thus takes on a new significance. His Spanishness is characterised as important because he is a first-hand witness to the cruelty of Philip, but it also offers a benchmark of the King's duplicity; if Philip could imprison and torture so loyal a native Spaniard, and so good a Catholic, no amount of 'desert' or 'bonde of Religion' could assure the King's just treatment of 'straungers'.

⁷¹ Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, p. 262.

⁷² Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, p. 262.

⁷³ Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, pp. 262-263.

Atye attributes the account's authority to Perez's Spanish identity, explaining that the author of the treatise is: 'A speciall favourite oulde Courtier and Counsaylor in that Court of Spayne, bourne and bredde up in Spayne; the matters he wrytethe of and all the circumstances [sic] thereof native to him and to those to whome he speciallye wryteth, his owne countrymen'.⁷⁴ Perez's 'native' Spanish origins, and his familiarity with the 'Court of Spayne' and the 'matters he wrytethe' assure the truthfulness of the account. Atye encourages his reader to take Perez's story seriously because of his long-held position in Philip's court:

Take it as it is and consider every way well of it. It is such a worcke, being so neere and inward a wyse favourite Counsaylor and longe tyme chiefe Secretorye touching his owne so mightye a kinge, and bothe alyve, and the truthe of all he avoucheth so pregnantly prooved with the very original handwrytings of the kinge himselfe [...]⁷⁵

The fact that both Perez and Philip are 'alyve' also assures the truth of the account; Perez's attendance in the Spanish court ensures the report is not a rumour but rather eye-witness testimony. Atye later explains that Perez 'is alive and may take his action' if Atye should vary too far from the Spanish text, surprisingly implying that it is not Perez's account but his translation that might sow doubt in the mind of his readers.⁷⁶ A component of a continuing process through which Atye establishes the accuracy of the account, Perez's position as a 'wyse favourite Counsaylor and longe tyme chiefe Secretorye' places him in a position not only to have witnessed much of Philip's cruelty, but also to have documents in the 'original handwrytings of the kinge' to corroborate his story, assuring the reader that Perez's tale does not suffer from the dishonesty one might expect of a Spaniard and proving the veracity of the testimony through the rhetorical process of *confirmatio*.⁷⁷

Atye's preface calls upon the reader to 'enlarge' upon the 'examples of this booke', to explore the tyranny of Philip 'with lyke examples of his dealing in the Lowe Countryes, in Portugall' and elsewhere, and so encourages Englishmen to follow Perez to enumerate the faults of Spain, which, as mentioned above, are juxtaposed with the English 'Prince and Countryes estate'.⁷⁸ By calling for examples of Philip's cruelty from 'the Lowe Countryes, in Portugall', Atye brings to his reader's mind the Spanish presence across Europe. Perez's account otherwise focuses on the internal politics of Spain; Atye's comment contextualises the pamphlet as relevant to larger political problems faced by England by the mid-1590s in the Netherlands and the Atlantic. The quick progression of Atye's list mimics the rapid

⁷⁴ Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, p. 261.

⁷⁵ Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, p. 261.

⁷⁶ Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, p. 263.

⁷⁷ Quentin Skinner, *Forensic Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 18.

⁷⁸ Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, p. 263.

expansion of the Spanish empire and so introduces urgency to Perez's treatise, tailoring it to Essex's hawkish desire for English military intervention against Philip. Atye's call for more witnesses to Spanish cruelty parallels a promise that the translation will, like much of the propaganda examined in this chapter, give the English readers access to 'how yor owne selves are thought of of the Spanyardes', again playing upon the vitriol created by Spanish misrepresentations of England.⁷⁹

Atye's denunciation of Philip is followed by Perez's laudatory dedication to Essex, whom he characterises as having 'wroght admiration and envye in nature'.⁸⁰ Perez resided at Essex House from March 1594 until July 1595, relying on the courtesy of the Earl to such an extent that he continued to attend a private mass that was made available for him there.⁸¹ Essex gained a reputation for tolerance among recusants, contributing to the sense that while he worked ardently to establish Spain as a national enemy of England and himself as a leader of the efforts to overcome it, his enmity did not extend to Catholics at home or abroad and did not stem from religious conflict so much as a political one (insofar as they might be separated during the Renaissance).⁸² As Gajda explains, 'through preface and dedication [of the *Relaçiones* ...] the reader is persuaded to connect a patriotic message aimed at English Catholics with the particular virtues of the Earl of Essex'.⁸³ By countering the image of the abusive Spanish King with both the Queen, described as England's 'Prince' in a quotation discussed above, and also with Essex, the volume forwards an image of the Earl that had particular potency in the years before the invasion of Cadiz and that combined personal religious tolerance with aggression against Philip. The two epistles appended to Atye's translation of Perez's *Relaçiones* thus simultaneously depict the necessity for English resistance against Spain and perhaps offer Essex as the natural champion of his 'Prince and Countryes estate'.

As the conflict with Spain escalated, Essex encouraged his retinue to consult Perez's text. Essex's travel instructions to Robert Naunton advise him to learn Spanish 'to understand Raphael Peregrinos [sic] book as well as Bartas did Englishe to understand Sir

⁷⁹ Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, p. 263.

⁸⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS English History C239, f. 4v. Atye's translation of Perez's dedicatory epistle can be found in Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, II, p. 265.

⁸¹ Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England*, I, p. 145.

⁸² Albert J. Loomie, 'A Catholic Petition to the Earl of Essex', *Recusant History*, 7 (1963), 33–42; London, The National Archives, SP 12/225, f. 28v. In March 1594 John Cecil reported that Essex's relationship with Catholicism was 'wonderfull famous in Spayne' amongst the English exiles there. Also see: Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics*, pp. 175–180.

⁸³ Gajda, p. 88.

Philip Sydneys Arcadia'.⁸⁴ Written upon his secretary's departure for France in the winter of 1595/6, the letter expresses both the importance Essex attributed to fluency in the Spanish language and to Perez's text.⁸⁵ Although the *Arcadia* had always been understood to be a political work, the comparison with the *Relaciones*, one of the strongest political treatises written against Philip II, demonstrates Essex's single-minded focus on the political utility of language study; later in the same letter Essex encourages Naunton to learn both French and Spanish, because:

Theise twooe tonges I woulde have yow seeke above all other because for neighbourhoode and mutuall utility we have most to doe with the frenche, and for anythinge I see the Spanyarde will have most to doe with us.⁸⁶

The letter's declaration that 'the Spanyarde will have the most to doe with us' is symptomatic of Essex's growing anxiety regarding Spain; the Earl's caveat that this threat existed 'for anythinge [he] see[s]' may indicate an awareness that his own fears exceeded those more broadly held in England. The letter imagines the English relationship with France as mutually beneficial and consequently consensual; by contrast, Essex's warning that 'the Spanyarde will have the most to doe with us' denies agency over Anglo-Spanish foreign policy and forecasts a far more violent relationship.⁸⁷ Thus the juxtaposition of the English relationship with France and Spain again uses comparison to develop a sense of their respective national characters, as Essex presents France as England's partner and Spain as an aggressor. The passage belies the extent of Essex's role within Anglo-Spanish politics for while it implies that Spanish belligerence will force a war upon Elizabeth, in fact Essex himself would lead England into several confrontations with Spain in the late 1590s.⁸⁸ By encouraging Naunton to learn Spanish, Essex depicts war with Spain as inevitable when in fact it was precisely the spread of this type of propaganda, and the Earl's own brand of paranoia, that lent momentum towards the looming conflict.

4. A declaration of the causes *and Essex's Voice in Translation*

An assumption of all the texts addressed thus far is that the voice of a Spaniard, feigned through either the act of translation or the claim that a work has been translated, affects the

⁸⁴ London, University of London Library, MS 187, ff. 9v–15r. For a printed version of this manuscript, see: Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Essex and Europe: Evidence from Confidential Instructions by the Earl of Essex, 1595–6', *The English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), 357–381 (p. 378).

⁸⁵ Hammer, 'Essex and Europe', p. 259.

⁸⁶ Hammer, 'Essex and Europe', p. 378.

⁸⁷ The English edition of *Pedacos de historia, ó relaciones* seems to have been primarily sold in the Netherlands, although on 15 July 1594 the States General decreed that no Dutch printer was authorised to sell the book. N. Japikse, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609* (Gravenhage: [n. pub.] 1915). I am grateful to Jaap Geraerts for pointing me towards this resource.

⁸⁸ Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>> [accessed 26 July 2012].

credibility of portrayals of specific courtiers. I now turn to a pamphlet that claims to represent the voice of two Englishmen, the Earl of Essex and Charles Howard of Effingham, and that is translated into Spanish to ask: what is the effect of this translation and how does it differ from those considered above? In 1596 Essex and Howard led an English invasion of Cadiz. Although printed material addressing the invasion was limited, an official justification of the campaign circulated. Christopher Barker's press printed *A declaration of the causes moving the Queenes Majesties of England, to prepare and send a navy to the Seas for the defence of her Realmes against the King of Spaines Forces* (1596) (although Barker himself had retired), indicating that it was sanctioned by the court. The propagandising pamphlet is attributed to Essex and his co-commander Howard.⁸⁹ *A declaration of the causes* performs three functions: it justifies the decision to send an English force to Cadiz; it declares Essex and Howard's military authority (over Elizabeth's fleet and perhaps more broadly over the ports of Europe); and it warns any allies of Spain to desist in their support of Philip or risk punishment at the hands of England's navy. Although ostensibly practical, the pamphlet invokes many of the same tropes that had featured in anti-Spain propaganda throughout the past two decades and which we have already encountered in this dissertation. An English audience might expect these from a pamphlet designed to justify military action against Spain. However *A declaration of the causes* seems to be aimed at a much broader, trans-European readership as it addresses speakers of Italian, Dutch, French, Latin and (perhaps most surprisingly) Spanish in five separate non-English editions.⁹⁰ However, there is no evidence to indicate that the pamphlet was distributed outside of England. Whether or not the many translations circulated in Europe, producing foreign-language versions of the pamphlet, and particularly a Spanish edition, masks its propagandising effect and makes it appear to be a genuine warning to a European audience of the threat levied by Essex, Howard, and the men under their command. This may be designed to manipulate its English audience into the perception that the Earl and his co-commander could intimidate their enemy with a three-page pamphlet. In this final section I will examine how the

⁸⁹ David Kathman, 'Barker, Christopher (1528/9–1599)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1390>> [accessed 29 July 2012].

⁹⁰ England and Wales, *Dichiaratione delle cause che hanno indotta la Serenissima Maestà, della Reina d'Inghilterra, di preparare & mandare sopra il mare vna armata per la difesa de i suoi regni contra le forze d'el Re di Spagna* (Londra: Christophero Barker, 1596), STC (2nd ed.), 9207; England and Wales, *Declaration des causes, qui ont meu sa Serenissime Maesté d'Angleterre d'equipper, & mettre vne armée sur mer, pour la deffence de ses royaumes contre les forces du Roy d'Espagne* (Londres: Christophle Barker, 1596), STC (2nd ed.), 9206; England and Wales, *Declaratio causarum serenissimam Maiestatem Reginae Angliae mouentium, ad instruendam atque emittendam classem ad regnorum suorum defensionem, contra vires Regis Hispania* (Londini: Christopheri Barkeri, 1596), STC (2nd ed.), 9204; England and Wales, *Declaratie van de causen mouerende hare Coninglicke Maesteit van Englandt, een vloete van schepen ter zee te afuerdigen tot defensie van hare landschappen, tegen gewelt des Conings van Spaignen* (London: Christoffel Barker, 1596), STC (2nd ed.), 9205; England and Wales, *Declaracion de las causas que han mouido la Magestad de la Reyna d'Ynglaterra, a embiar vn'armada real, para defensa de sus reynos y señorios contra las fuerças del Rey d'España* (Londres: Christoval Barker, 1596), STC (2nd ed.), 9208. A copy of the Spanish translation of this work is held at the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California.

translations of *A declaration of the causes* increase its credibility and so its efficacy as propaganda.

Individual narratives and partisan accounts followed the invasion of Cadiz. Hammer explains in his 1997 article ‘Myth-Making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596’, quoted in the introduction of this thesis, that:

Almost as soon as the battle was won, English commanders rushed to send home letters and accounts describing their part in the victory. Over the ensuing months and years, this welter of competing claims and counter-claims transformed the events at Cadiz into a highly charged issue within late Elizabethan politics.⁹¹

Critics have attributed Essex’s particular attempts at publicity after Cadiz to his vanity. However, L. W. Henry shows that the propaganda created by the Earl was more likely part of a deliberate attempt to influence a continuing debate within the Elizabethan regime about the direction of England’s war effort.⁹² Essex had intended the campaign to mark the beginning of an aggressive English military presence within Spain itself, contrary to Elizabeth and Burghley’s plans and instructions; when this failed the Earl’s fashioning of the event as a major success became all the more essential to retaining his role as Elizabeth’s general.⁹³ *A declaration of the causes* is consistent with Essex’s varied efforts to shape the popular memory of Cadiz. These took many forms, from support for a ‘day of public thanksgiving’ in London about a month after the campaign, to the decision to wear his hair in the military style that was immortalised in a large portrait by Marcus Gheeraert. He even sponsored a map drawn by Baptista Boazio, graphically depicting the stages of the battle.⁹⁴ Although Burghley suppressed all but the official account of the campaign, Essex House circulated a manuscript, the so-called ‘True relacion’, detailing various courtiers’ heroism during the battle.⁹⁵ Copies of the ‘True relacion’ were sent to France, the Netherlands, and northern Italy, although it was never printed. *A declaration of the causes*, like the ‘True relacion’, champions Essex’s role and seems to seek to capitalise upon this reputation across Europe as well as within England.

A declaration of the causes addresses questions relevant to an English audience. It first and foremost establishes that the Queen gave Essex and Howard authority over the English troops. The pamphlet uses the first person, apparently giving the courtiers not only

⁹¹ Paul E. J. Hammer, ‘Myth-Making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596’, *The Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), 621-42 (p. 622).

⁹² L.W. Henry, ‘The Earl of Essex as Strategist and Military Organizer (1596–7)’, *English Historical Review*, LXVIII (1953), 363-93 (pp. 370-93).

⁹³ Hammer, ‘Myth-Making’, p. 631.

⁹⁴ Hammer, ‘Myth-Making’, pp. 365-367.

⁹⁵ Hammer, ‘Myth-Making’, pp. 631-637.

control over the troops but the power to represent the campaign in print. It begins with the declaration:

We *Robert*, Earle of Essex[...] And *Charles* lorde *Howard*, Baron of Effingham[...] having the charge of a Royall Navy of Ships, prepared and sent to the Seas, by the most excellent Princesse the Lady *Elizabeth*, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. doe give all men knowledge, that the said Navy under our charge is by her Majestie prepared and sent to serve on the Seas, for defence of her Majesties Realmes, Dominions, and Subjects [...]⁹⁶

Although ostensibly the pamphlet declares the expedition to Cadiz as an official effort and associates it with Elizabeth and England (rather than an act of piracy), it also insistently establishes the authority of Essex and Howard; *A declaration of the causes* explains they have ‘the charge of the Royall Navy’ and within a few lines reiterates that the ‘Navy [is] under [their] charge’.⁹⁷ The opening lines of the pamphlet identify the authors as ‘Robert, Earle of Essex, & Ewe, Viscount Hereford, lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bourghcer, and Lovane, &c. And Charles lorde Howard, Baron of Effingham, Lord high Admirall of England, &c.’. The elaborate titles evoke the power of the two commanders from the first moments of the pamphlet and indicate the monarch’s support of the men even before it declares their power over the navy (as many of their titles were bestowed by the Queen).⁹⁸ The placement of Essex’s name before that of Howard may be illustrative of tensions that existed between the two at the start of the campaign; Essex had been ordered to take existing troops to defend Calais, a mission on which Howard had not been included and an oversight that he had acutely felt.⁹⁹ The authoritative tone *A declaration of the causes* attributes to Essex and Howard builds upon years of depictions of the Earl as Elizabeth’s foremost military advisor and the most appropriate leader of an English force against Spain. Its focus on Essex as a leader and its expression of his ‘genuine ambition of war’, described by Sir Roger Williams and acknowledged at court since at least 1588, make the pamphlet part of a

⁹⁶ England and Wales, *A declaration of the causes*, sig. A3r.

⁹⁷ In fact, the English began making plans for an assault on the Spanish mainland in autumn 1595. Howard led arguments in the Privy Council for the scheme. By January 1596 Robert Cecil described plans for a force of 5000 soldiers and 4500 mariners that would assault and sack targets on the Spanish mainland. Command would be shared by Essex, who would lead on land, and Howard, who would be Elizabeth’s general at sea. At the end of March, the siege of Calais by Spanish forces threw preparation for the attack into confusion. Orders were given to Essex to use the assembling fleet and men as a relieving force, but Calais fell before the expedition set sail. The attack upon Cadiz acquired a sense of urgency and sailed on 3 June 1596. See: James McDermott, ‘Howard, Charles, second Baron Howard of Effingham and first earl of Nottingham (1536–1624)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13885>, accessed 30 May 2013> [accessed 30 May 2012].

⁹⁸ Paul E.J. Hammer, ‘Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex (1565–1601)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565>> [accessed 26 July 2012].

⁹⁹ James McDermott, ‘Howard, Charles, second Baron Howard of Effingham and first earl of Nottingham (1536–1624)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13885>, accessed 30 May 2013> [accessed 30 May 2012].

by then at least eight year old pattern in which Essex championed the need for England to go to war and characterised himself as the man to lead the charge.¹⁰⁰

Justifying the campaign through reference to the Armada, *A declaration of the causes* invokes a familiar trope of Elizabethan anti-Spanish propaganda.¹⁰¹ Using the term ‘invade’, the pamphlet capitalises on English sentiment as it focuses readers’ attention on a past encounter with Spain. The pamphlet explains that the action at Cadiz is in fact a

Defence of her Majesties Realmes, Dominions, and Subjects, against such mightie Forces, as we are advertised from all partes of Christendome, to be already prepared by the King of Spaine, and by further provisions of Men and Ships dayly sent for, are to be mightily increased, to invade her Maiesties Realmes: as heretofore in the yeere of our Lord 1588. was attempted [...] with a greater Army then ever before in his time was set to the Seas: though by Gods goodnesse, and the valour and wisdom of her Noble and faithfull Subjects, the same was notably made frustrate.¹⁰²

A declaration of the causes characterises Essex and Howard as walking an established path, worn by the ‘valour and wisdom of [Elizabeth’s] Noble and faithfull Subjects’ who defended England against the Armada. Although the two instigated an aggressive force against Spain, the treatise creates a parallel between this and the defence of England. The almost nostalgic description of the Armada here claims the protection of providence, as ‘God’s goodnesse’ is paired with the ‘valour and wisdom’ of Englishmen, setting a precedent for English success. Yet England is not isolated; the pamphlet alludes to some form of anti-Spanish alliance shared across Europe when it explains that Essex and Howard’s ‘defence’ is mounted in response to warnings received from ‘all partes of Christendome’. Thus, almost simultaneously, the pamphlet depicts England as a defensive country under attack from Spain and a strong nation that might command the loyalty of ‘all partes of Christendome’, aligning England with the rest of Europe.

Like Perez’s *Relaçiones*, *A declaration of the causes* characterises Philip as uniquely disreputable, necessitating action against him. However, the pamphlet again uses this trope to imply that Philip’s noisome nature creates sympathy between England and the other nations of Europe. The pamphlet explains that the Queen maintained

Good intelligence of perfite amitie with all Kings and Princes of Christendome, saving with the King of Spaine, who hath this many yeeres most unjustly professed

¹⁰⁰ London, The National Archives, SP 78/24, f. 112r.

¹⁰¹ England and Wales, *A declaration of the causes*, sig. A3r.

¹⁰² England and Wales, *A declaration of the causes*, sigs. A3r-3v.

openly great enimitie by divers actions, both against her Royall person, and her people, and Countries, without any just cause first given on her Majesties part.¹⁰³

Elizabeth's 'perfitte amitie with all Kings and Princes of Christendome' is juxtaposed with Philip's inexplicable 'enimitie' towards England. Elsewhere in this thesis I have examined instances in which authors attempt to define England's national character in opposition to Philip II; here this process is reversed as Spain is differentiated from every other state 'of Christendome'. The emphasis placed on the positive relationship between England and the rest of Europe implies that the pamphlet might not be intended solely for an English audience. However, its focus on the Armada, a poignant memory for most English readers, indicates that the many translations of the pamphlet might merely be designed to imply that it, and the authority of Essex, reached a broader audience than in fact it did. Yet *A declaration of the causes* is unique amongst the works I have examined in this dissertation as it claims a trans-European audience and so fashions Howard and Essex, and thus also England, as military authorities acting in opposition to Spain on a transnational scale.

The second half of the pamphlet is a warning to the 'ayders of the king of Spaine' across Europe.¹⁰⁴ In what might be described as the 'fine print' of the manual, Essex and Howard proclaim that if any non-Spaniards currently aiding Spain 'withdrawe all their said Shippes prepared for the warre, and all their provisions of hostilitie out of any Havens of Spaine, or Portugall, or from the company and service of the Kings Ships against our Navy', then they will not suffer piracy at the hands of English forces and will be allowed to retain their goods.¹⁰⁵ Addressed to the international readership of the manual, the warning creates the impression that the voices of Essex and Howard might persuade readers across the continent to switch alliances and, for fear of the English forces, stop their support of Spain. The pamphlet finally orders those non-Spaniards currently acting in the interest of Spain to 'returne either to their owne Countries, or if they so shall like to come to our Navy', implying that the two generals might induce Europeans serving Spain to defect.¹⁰⁶ Whether or not the authors of the pamphlet expected any to follow this command, its brashness imagines the international influence of both Essex and Howard and England as a nation.

The final claim made by the pamphlet, that it will be translated in order to warn all 'ayders' of Spain of the imminent threat, offers perhaps the most convincing evidence that it might speak to an international audience:

¹⁰³ England and Wales, *A declaration of the causes*, sig. A3r.

¹⁰⁴ England and Wales, *A declaration of the causes*, sig. A2r.

¹⁰⁵ England and Wales, *A declaration of the causes*, sigs. A3v-4r.

¹⁰⁶ England and Wales, *A declaration of the causes*, sig. A5r.

Wee have put the same in Print, in French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish, and have also caused the same to bee distributed into as many Ports of Spaine and Portugall, as conveniently might be for the better knowledge to bee had in the saide Portes, as also in all other Partes under his subjection.¹⁰⁷

Yet one questions why, if these translations were in fact distributed, the fact that they exist must be publicised by the pamphlet? Declaring a willingness to overcome the linguistic differences that divided Europe to unify against Spain, the sentence seems designed to illustrate the international orientation of the pamphlet to an English audience. Howard and Essex claim control over the text and its distribution: 'Wee have put the same in Print, in French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish, and have also caused the same to bee distributed into as many Ports of Spaine and Portugall'. Their voices further explain that the manual reaches readers in 'all other Partes under [Philip II's] subjection'. Through the claim that it has been translated, as well as the translations themselves, the pamphlet depicts Essex and Howard as authorities whose power might be felt throughout Europe, asserting that the English commanders are able to intimidate, and even manipulate the actions of, Spaniards. *A declaration of the causes* thus offers a case study of an instance in which an English pamphleteer depicts the Earl of Essex and his co-commander as leaders of a powerful nation that, in opposing Spain, wielded influence across Europe. By translating the English work into Spanish and broadcasting the intent to do so, the pamphleteer imagines Essex and Howard as authorities not only in England but also in Spain. Although very different from the feigned voices of Spaniards examined earlier in this chapter, this translation again uses Spanish to add to the credibility of English propaganda that images the Earl of Essex as a leader in the conflict with Spain.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how the Spanish language adds credibility to the claims about Spain made by English propaganda, and how this in turn was used to advance the careers of specific courtiers, most centrally the Earl of Essex. It has been particularly interested in the seeming incongruence between English distrust of Spaniards, propagated by *la leyenda negra* and the persuasiveness of the Spanish language. Perceval's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* characterises Essex as the leader of the English resistance to Spanish aspirations on the continent. Perceval explains that his guide will be a metaphorical servant to the Earl, likely during future military action against Spain. Part of a broader acknowledgement of the Earl of Essex's drive towards war, fashioning in Perceval's guide is two-directional. The dedicatory epistles depict Essex as a military leader, but simultaneously invoke his name to

¹⁰⁷ England and Wales, *A declaration of the causes*, sig. A2r.

establish the relevance of the guide to the contemporary political environment. Perceval's attribution of much of his dictionary to Spaniards, including Antonio de Nebrija, Don Pedro de Valdez, Alonso de Zayas de Laja and Vasco de Mendoza de Silva (several of whom were present during the battle of the Armada) allows him to portray the accuracy and thoroughness of both the dictionary and also perhaps his assessment of the state of the Anglo-Spanish conflict, the military importance of Essex and the relevance of the guide to the developing campaign, apparently ignoring the stereotypical dishonesty some English readers might associate with them.

The fact that attribution of textual excerpts to Spaniards, or inclusion of direct translation from the Spanish language, could increase the credibility of propagandistic texts is exploited in several different ways in the 1580s and 1590s. *The copie of a letter* and *A packe of Spanish lyes* capitalise on opposing assumptions about the credibility of a Spanish voice. In each, politically powerful ministers attribute accounts of the battle to Spaniards to shape their audiences' reaction to the Armada. *The copie of a letter's* laudatory account of the English performance during the campaign is made believable through its attribution to a Spaniard (and the assumption that the enemy would never exaggerate its rival's victory); *A packe of Spanish lyes* obscures its patriotic message, which it presents under the guise of corrections to sensational Spanish misinformation, capitalising on the trope of Spanish dishonesty to hide English exaggerations. *An Answer to the Untruthes* testifies to the efficacy of fabricated Spanish voices as it transmits both 'for the benefite and farther encouragement' of Englishmen. Six years later, Antony Bacon uses the credibility of a Spaniard in order to fashion the political future of Essex House, again playing with English assumptions about Spanish unreliability. Encouraging Atye's translation of the *Relaçiones*, which invokes Antonio Perez as a witness to the duplicity and cruelty of Philip II, Bacon encourages the production of an account that depicts the Earl of Essex as a more reliable guardian of English Catholics than the Spanish king. Focusing the stereotype of dishonesty on Philip, the *Relaçiones* capitalises on an almost tautological assumption, yet one that is contrary to much of the Black Legend, that a Spaniard might offer the most accurate depiction of Spain, including its rumoured dishonesty. It is thus able to offer a hyperbolic witness to Philip's duplicity designed to galvanise English support for Essex.

A declaration of the causes justifies the decision to send an English force to Cadiz and simultaneously develops Essex's reputation as a trans-European leader. The pamphlet warns any allies of Spain to desist in their support of Philip or risk just punishment at the hands of England's navy. In so doing it asserts the authority of Essex, Howard and England over much of Europe, a relationship that it further imagines through the

translation of the manual into Italian, Dutch, French, Latin, English and Spanish. The latter conveys the sense that the aspiration that the manual, and the English commanders it ventriloquises, might convince its readers to change their allegiances. Whether this tract was distributed internationally or is merely a further example of English propaganda designed to shape understanding of the conflict at home, it offers a final example of how English authors might counter-intuitively employ the Spanish language to shape English perception of the conflict. This chapter has explored a range of works that exploit assumptions about the reliability of Spaniards to add credibility to their representations of Spain or the Anglo-Spanish conflict. I have demonstrated that the Earl of Essex and his contemporaries recognised and utilised the various ways in which the veracity of an account might be established – or undermined – by quotation or translation from Spanish language sources. Ultimately, this chapter has assessed how various beliefs about the Spaniards' penchant for dishonesty counterintuitively lead Englishmen to use Spanish to make their accounts more credible.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to examine: how does English use of the Spanish language reflect the hostilities that sporadically broke out between these traditional allies in the second half of Elizabeth's reign? I have considered this question through the work of a range of authors, scholars and influential patrons. These figures had different goals as they produced their texts but, I have observed, are unified by the extent to which the work they produced or patronised may have been conscious of the political implications of the use of the Spanish vernacular.

My first chapter has presented evidence that Abraham Fraunce (1559?–1592/3?) may have used excerpts from Spanish texts to contextualise his guide to English style, *The Arcadian rhetorike* (1588), relative to contemporary political concerns. I have argued that its use of the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega may be symptomatic of Fraunce's sense of the importance of some specific authors as embodiments of certain features of emergent national characters. Evidence this chapter has examined indicates that Fraunce was familiar with, and may have to some extent relied upon, Fernando de Herrera's (c. 1534–1597) contemporary nationalist edition of the poetry of Garcilaso. Fraunce draws from portions of Garcilaso's work that contemplate the importance of the poet as a memorialiser of soldiers, leading me to have considered the ways that *The Arcadian rhetorike* constitutes a text mourning Sidney in the aftermath of the skirmish at Zutphen. Finally I have observed that Thomas Orwin printed *The Arcadian rhetorike* as English authors began to reflect on the Armada and have argued that the work might be considered in some ways one of the texts that responded to the political events of the summer of 1588. Taking its excerpts from the work of the Spanish poet Garcilaso as my starting point, I have sought to demonstrate that *The Arcadian rhetorike* uses the Spanish language to engage with its political moment as it enumerates examples of ideal rhetoric.

In the second chapter of this dissertation I have examined Fraunce's peer at the University of Cambridge, Gabriel Harvey (1552/3–1631), and have analysed the various ways he draws upon the Spanish language as a component of studies designed to elucidate contemporary diplomatic questions. By examining letters sent to Spenser (1552?–1599) and Young (1514–1581/2), this chapter has amassed evidence that indicates that from the late 1570s Harvey believed vernacular languages to be powerful tools that might contribute to various nations' statuses abroad. Harvey's studies of Mediterranean poetry and martial theory mirror each other; as Harvey adopts hexameter in his English verse in imitation of Latin, Italian and Spanish forms, he simultaneously annotates Frontinus (c. 40 – 103 AD),

Machiavelli (1469-1527) and Cortes (1485-1527) to better understand naval strategy. Finally, this chapter has scrutinised Harvey's effort to understand Roderigo Lopez's (c.1517–1594) presence in England, role at court and alleged treason. Harvey puts critical weight upon Juan Huarte de San Juan's (1529 – 1588) *Examen de Ingenios* (1575) as he considers the roots of Lopez's treason. Consistent with his tendency to inscribe cross-references in his books, Harvey uses an episode from Huarte de San Juan's work to support the observations made in Georg Meier's *In Judaeorum medicastroorum calumnias & homicidia* (1570), indicative of the credibility Harvey seems to have attributed to Spanish texts to inform his understanding of the traitor. Ultimately, this chapter has offered evidence of Harvey's perception that understanding the relative strength of European vernaculars might complement military strategy as England worked to resist Spanish dominance.

The third chapter of this dissertation has surveyed Spanish language learning manuals produced by scholars associated with the Earl of Leicester's clientele, and juxtaposed these with other Anglo-Spanish guides. This has sought to demonstrate that tools designed to facilitate communication between Englishmen and Spaniards also imagine the consequences of changes in foreign policy. Although the Earl of Leicester is not the author of any of the works I have addressed, this chapter has indicated that his political reputation and the influence of his powerful secretary, Arthur Atye (d. 1604), might have inspired the production of several early Anglo-Spanish language guides at the University of Oxford. Atye facilitated the advancement of Antonio del Corro (1527–1591), whose *Reglas gramaticales* (1586), through its dedication to Horatio Palavicino (c.1540–1600), reflects aspects of the hawkish campaign against Spain that Leicester notoriously supported. Furthermore, it inspired a series of Spanish-English manuals that became the foundations of the language guides produced well into the next decade. This chapter ended by examining the extent to which the *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593) reflects an association between Leicester and both the Anglo-Spanish conflict and patronage of lexicons. The *Ortho-epia*'s example dialogues depict various implications of Spanish naval success in the Atlantic, foregrounding many of the reasons the Earl of Essex (1565–1601) would later cite to spur Elizabeth towards war, and pairs these with a dedication to the Earl of Leicester's son and namesake. Ultimately, this chapter has demonstrated that Anglo-Spanish language manuals reflect England's policy towards Spain and explored the extent to which this phenomenon was entangled with the proclivities of the Earl of Leicester's politics and patronage.

In my final chapter I have examined instances in which the Spanish language is invoked to add authenticity and authority to text. Perceval's (c.1558–1620) *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591) characterises Essex as the leader of the English resistance to Spanish aspirations on the continent. Perceval explains that his guide will be a metaphorical soldier in the Earl's future military action against Spain. I have argued that invoking the names of particular Spaniards who were present during the Armada endows Perceval's manual with credibility on two levels: so doing assures the reader of the accuracy of both his translations and his assessment of Essex's role in the developing political crisis. The notion that the Spanish language creates credibility in text runs throughout the English Renaissance. The attribution of *The copie of a letter* (1588) and *A packe of Spanish lyes* (1588) to Spaniards changes the credibility of each to varied effect: the first makes an account of the English victory particularly authentic and so ensconces Burghley's sons in the history of the defence; the second attributes sensational accounts of the battle to Spanish and so warrants incredulous patriotic responses. The efficacy of both is borne out by *An Answer to the Untruthes* (1589), a tract that transmits elements of both pamphlets. Examining Atye and Antonio Perez's (1540–1611) production of an edition and translation of the *Relaciones* (1594) in England, I have shown that hawkish members of Elizabeth's court used the veracity and galvanising effect of a Spanish account to depict Essex as an opponent of the corruption of Spain. By 1596 this fashioning of the Earl took hold; a translation of *A declaration of the causes* (1596) into six European languages, including Spanish, adds to the sense that Essex might really assert some authority to intimidate Spaniards and those loyal to Spain. Ultimately this chapter offered a range of case studies that examine the ways that texts might be endowed with the authority to represent Spain or the conflict. I thus have proposed that Essex and his contemporaries recognised and utilised the power of the Spanish language to shape their roles in Elizabeth's court and the war in which they hoped to take part.

For the works this dissertation has considered, the use of Spanish indicates engagement with the political moment, even in books that are not overtly concerned with politics. We have seen this when Harvey inscribes an excerpt from Juan Huarte de San Juan's *Examen de Ingenios* in Georg Meier's *In Judaeorum Medicastrorum* and so transforms a treatise on the medical credentials of Jews into a tool with which to understand the role of an Iberian traitor. Likewise, Antonio del Corro's *Reglas gramaticales*, ostensibly merely a language guide, reflects aspects of the hawkish campaign against Spain that Leicester notoriously supported through its dedication to Palavicino. Similarly, Richard Perceval's *Bibliotheca Hispanica*, an Anglo-Spanish lexicon and grammar, casts Essex as the leader of

the English resistance to Spanish aspirations on the continent. Perhaps most significantly, my first chapter has shown that *The Arcadian rhetorike* may use excerpts from Spanish texts to contextualise its guide to linguistic style relative to contemporary political concerns. Thus I have observed that texts that apparently serve as reference works, manuals or guides reflect political realities or proclivities via the language of England's enemy.

Invocation of the Spanish language, which necessarily involves imitating or at the least mimicking an adversary, seems counterintuitive in the Elizabethan period. Yet the authors whose work I have examined use Spanish to understand their own political roles or shape the careers of their friends and patrons. Often they do so by using the conflict to depict a unified English nation in opposition to Spain, even at a moment when each country's internal politics were far from stable. Fraunce's *Arcadian rhetorike* juxtaposes English with French, Italian, Spanish and classical languages. Harvey argues in a 1579 letter to Spenser that languages are powerful tools that contribute to various nations' statuses abroad. By so doing these men forward the sense that the English language is in some way in competition with its European contemporaries; this opposition thus adds relevance to language study. It might also galvanise support behind individual political projects. Perceval invokes the conflict when he dedicates his Anglo-Spanish language guide to Essex, simultaneously developing the Earl's military persona and a sense of the importance of his book. As I have scrutinised these case studies I have identified various instances of textual transmission: I have considered Fraunce's possible use of Herrera as a guide to Garcilaso; and I have demonstrated a progression from Noel de Berlaimont's (d. 1531) *Vocabulaer in vier spraken duytsch francios, latiin ende spaensch* (1527) to *A very profitable booke to lerne the maner of redyng, wrytyng, speakyng English Spanish* (1554) to William Stepney's *The Spanish Schoole-master* (1591). These instances of transmission might suggest continuity in English studies of Spanish that supersede individual political projects or motivations. However, this thesis has observed various instances in which authors use Spanish texts to their own purposes, invoking the language of the enemy to capitalise upon its political salience, credibility and galvanising effect. In this way English authors use the Spanish language to establish their own political roles and those of their texts.

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